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Lectures on The Articles of
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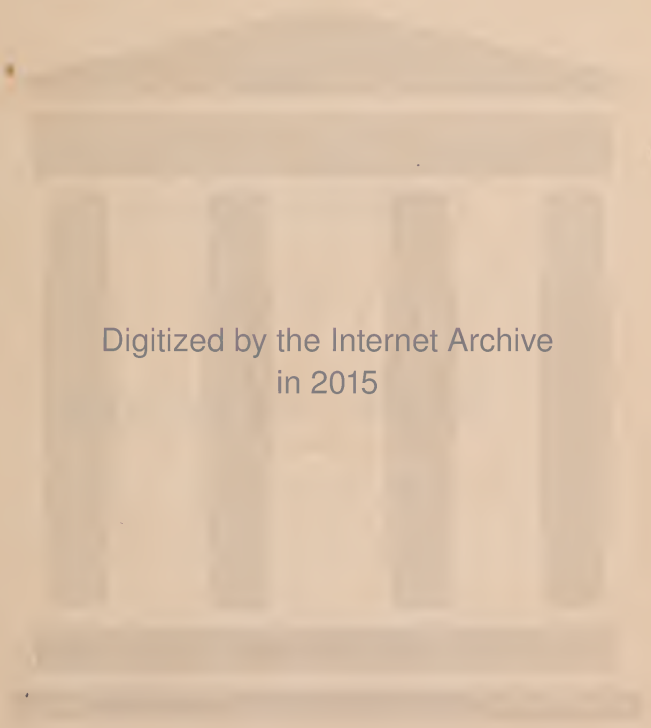

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LECTURES

ON

THE ARTICLES

OF THE

UNITED CHURCH

OF

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

BY

JOHN DAVID MACBRIDE, D.C.L.

PRINCIPAL OF MAGDALENE HALL.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER;

AND 377, STRAND, LONDON.

1853.

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TO THE

MEMBERS OF MAGDALENE HALL,

THESE LECTURES,

WRITTEN FOR THEIR INSTRUCTION,

ARE DEDICATED,

WITH AN EARNEST DESIRE AND FERVENT PRAYER

FOR THEIR ETERNAL WELFARE,

BY THEIR

FAITHFUL AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THE PRINCIPAL.

Oxford, June 1, 1853.

LECTURES

UPON

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

The Dissenter reproaches the Church of England with retaining a portion of the alloy of Popery; the Roman Catholic condemns her as heretical; while she appeals to her Articles, approved by her Clergy and confirmed by the authority of Parliament, as her reply to both. A knowledge of them seems then indispensable to the members of her communion, to enable them to answer the question, Why do you not return to the ancient Church from which your ancestors seceded? or, if a Protestant, Why do you prefer your own denomination to others, which profess to have acted more in conformity with the principles of the Reformation, by departing to a still greater distance from Rome? I have therefore thought it might be useful to persons, who cannot, generally speaking, be supposed to be acquainted with the controversies which divide Christians, or to have read many theological works, to draw up for them an elementary Course of Lectures upon this national Confession of Faith.

In an undertaking of this description, I must be as concise as is consistent with sufficient explanation and proof of the tenets affirmed, since these Articles condense into a few sentences propositions, many of which have been keenly contested by disputants of ability and learning, and have formed the subject of volumes of controversy. Take, as an

instance of this, the simple assertion, that our Saviour is very God. The maintainers of his divinity and of his simple humanity alike appeal to Scripture, and the belief of the primitive Church. The many texts brought forward on both sides have been critically examined, and differently interpreted; and we may say without exaggeration, that, independent of the remarks dispersed through Commentaries, and Sermons, and arranged in systems of Theology, a collection of the treatises in which this doctrine has been defended or opposed would almost form of itself a little library. In religion, however, as in other branches of knowledge, there is much repetition; and in every age and country, arguments have been brought forward which have appeared before in another form or language, and have been urged already with equal or perhaps greater force. Sometimes we find an ancient and almost forgotten author very superior to a popular modern, and again a modern will sometimes compress the remarks of his predecessors so judiciously, and in a manner so much more agreeable to us, as entirely to supersede them. It is also to be remembered, that arguments are not to be *numbered* but *weighed;* and that one strong one is better than a thousand weak ones: and here the Protestant, who appeals "to the Law and to the Testimony," and who regards uninspired writers only in as far as they adhere to this sole standard of truth, has an incalculable advantage over the Roman Catholic, who is weighed down by authorities, which he dares not set aside, but which are often perplexing, not only from their multitude, but from their contradictory character. The Protestant, it is true, after making the most liberal deduction, has remaining a number of volumes deserving of an entire and attentive perusal, sufficiently alarming when we consider how short life is, and how much is to be done in it as well as learnt; not to speak of many more which ought to be partially consulted. The study of them, however, is not obligatory upon us, as that of the Fathers and the Decrees of Councils are upon the Roman Catholic divine; not that we despise, as they reproach us, the writings of the early Christians, most of whom we allow to be men of eminent piety, some of learning and talents, and all competent to

report the opinions that prevailed in their own time. With respect to the rites and practices of the primitive Church, we believe that they cannot be mistaken: in all interpretations that turn upon the meaning of words, those who, like Origen and Chrysostom, spoke the language in which the New Testament is written, have an undeniable advantage over us, but still we are not enslaved to their authority; we assume the right of judging for ourselves, and of calling no man upon earth master; and we do not find that any of these Fathers require the unbanded submission which the Romanist claims for them. Certainly, it is an advantage not to be estimated at a low rate, that we are not required to read through the Decrees of Council after Council, and to examine the voluminous works of the Fathers, that is to say, of Ecclesiastical authors from the immediate successors of the Apostles down to St. Bernard, not to speak of the Schoolmen, as Thomas Aquinas and his predecessor Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences, a compilation from Augustine and subsequent Latin authors, the great class book, from which Theology was learnt in this and in other Universities, till the Reformation. Whereas the Roman Catholic must assent to whatever the Church believes, as handed down to her by Tradition, and must take her interpretation of Scripture, whether agreeable or not to his own judgment, as the true Catholic Faith, without the profession of which no one can be saved. In a course of years there will be much of human opinion to be rejected, even when that of honest well-meaning minds; how much more must we discard not only as frivolous but pernicious, if there have been ignorance, superstition, credulity, and interest to originate and sanction the doctrine, and party zeal, ambition, and enthusiasm to nourish and establish it. What disciple of St. Peter, unless endued with the spirit of prophecy, could have imagined how in subsequent ages essential Gospel truth could have been not only concealed, but perverted, under the influence of a series of Bishops, who claimed to be his successors, and who as such, assumed the right of being the infallible Vicars, the assumed right, which he never claimed, of being the Vicar and representative of his Master upon earth. At the period of the

Reformation, it was high time to throw off the enormous mass of traditions which, accumulating for ages, had encumbered, and well nigh smothered, the truth; and happily we Protestants, taking for our guide the axiom embodied in our Articles, that the Scripture is the only test of truth, are free, without any bigotted deference to authority, to examine and prove all doctrines by that, our only rule of faith. We shall see hereafter, that there are some, as Purgatory, and the Adoration of Relics, which even by the confession of their advocates rest mainly upon Tradition.

Before I enter upon the explanation and proof of the Articles, I wish to premise, that Truth itself may be unskilfully defended. If therefore any statement I make shall be erroneous, or the arguments by which it is supported untenable, I have to request that the doctrine may not be surrendered as defenceless, because its advocate may have failed in defending it.

It is also my desire to impress upon your minds, that this branch of knowledge is not a science discovered by man's genius, and improved and enlarged by the experience and observations of successive generations, but the revealed will of God; and though it must be shewn to be his will, and requires to be vindicated and enforced, and admits of explanation and illustration, it cannot from its nature be susceptible of alteration, or even of development. As proclaimed by its inspired promulgators, it is perfect, and all that subsequent generations have to do is to endeavour to comprehend in all particulars the Record which they have left us. The use of other knowledge is limited to our abode upon earth; but when all the ties that bind us to our families, our country, and mankind, are burst asunder by death, it will be of incalculable importance to us to have understood the character of the awful Being, to whom we shall be responsible for our conduct here, and to know what conduct will procure our admission into His joy, or banish us into eternal punishment. And no reasonable person will deny, that a right faith is required to produce right and acceptable conduct. Some indeed of these Articles only concern us as members of the Church militant upon earth; but others must be believed; or, to say the least, we have no scriptural

warrant for believing that we shall be admitted into the Church triumphant in Heaven. Belief in what God has been pleased to reveal, and obedience to what He has commanded, is our undeniable and indispensable duty; but unhappily upon these vital points, contradictory opinions exist; and it would be the height of folly, (a folly notwithstanding to which some of the most gifted and eminent of the men of this world must plead guilty,) either to reject without examination, or to take upon trust, matters of infinite importance, in which there are errors both on the right hand and the left; several of them injurious, and some which it may be feared will prove fatal. While Rome demands implicit faith, and requires her members to declare they believe whatever the Church believes, without enquiring what that belief is, or knowing why she believes it, let us never forget, that it is our boast and privilege, as Protestants, to judge for ourselves; and that in this respect at least, we are hardly entitled to the appellation of rational beings, if upon the most important topic that can occupy the mind, we do not prepare ourselves to give a *reason* of the faith, and, I would desire to add, of "*the hope that is in us.*"

Lastly, let me entreat you to remember, that we are now treading on holy ground, and that the subjects which Theology presents to our examination and belief, are not to be discussed with the same indifference as the demonstrations of science. Mathematical and physical truths convince the understanding without affecting the heart; but religious questions involve the moral character and government of that awful Being, who has not only brought us into existence and preserves us here, but will dispose of us as He sees fit hereafter. It seems impossible to approach truths which will affect us in eternity, as well as in time, with indifference, much more in a tone of levity; yet unhappily, as upon other topics, so even upon this, familiarity has a tendency to blunt our feelings and extinguish our reverence. If any doubt the danger, I would appeal to the mortifying fact, that a profane application of scriptural phraseology, which almost irresistibly provokes a smile, is often even more than tolerated

in circles, which would be shocked at being considered irreligious.

There is also unhappily a method of proving even the leading truths of our holy Faith; such as the Divinity of our blessed Lord, and that inestimable proof of his love, his purchasing us with his most precious blood, which rather shows the sturdy polemic, proud of the skill with which he wields his weapons against a fellow-sinner, than the devoted believer who feels with the Apostle, that he must live unto the Saviour that died for him, denying all ungodliness, and consecrating his talents and means unreservedly to his glory. On the other hand, we must be on our guard against the opposite fault, the hypocritical affectation of a devotion which we do not feel: we shall best preserve the happy medium, by encouraging the reality of devotion; and this may be preserved or excited by studying these serious truths, not as subjects of barren speculation, but by meditating on them, so as to make them principles of conduct, and sources of consolation. The enquiry, though not a religious exercise, should be prosecuted in the spirit of religion; and we should bear in mind, that Theology ought to be studied not to show off our attainments in it, or to advance our worldly interest, or gratify the love of distinction, but that we may form correct and orthodox opinions; and orthodox opinions are not to be sought to gratify curiosity, or obtain the credit of learning, but that as we thus better *know*, we may better *fulfil* our duty.

As man is not a solitary independent being, but born a member of society, even religion itself is not merely a personal concern between himself and his Creator. That connection, it is true, will continue after every other has been dissolved: but much of practical religion in this world consists in the performance of relative duties to man; and even our duty to God requires, that we should honour Him before our fellow-creatures; and without neglecting private prayer, which becomes us as individuals, should in public unite in offering supplications for future blessings, and thanksgivings for those received, with other believers, as members of society. Reason suggests, that the whole human race is one

great family under the government of the common Parent of all, and consequently brethren; and Revelation both confirms this deduction, and exhibits to us the Deity in a still more intimate relation, as Redeemer and Sanctifier. The Scriptures represent our Lord Jesus Christ as the Head of a peculiar, that is purchased, people, denominated the Church; and the Apostle Paul shows the sympathy that ought to prevail among them, by comparing it to the human body. Brotherly love, meaning thereby love to those who are partakers of the same faith and the same hope, is enforced in the New Testament, independently of, and in preference to, charity, or love to men as our fellow-creatures, and is even made the characteristic of Christianity. *Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God; and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him.* (1 John v. 1.) *These things I command you, that ye love one another.* (John xv. 17.) The institution of the two Sacraments proves the social nature of our religion, since they cannot be administered in solitude; as therefore we are by nature members of the State, so by baptism we become, and through the Lord's Supper we continue, members of the Church. Now the Church as well as the State must have officers and regulations: and the acknowledgment of the same leading truths, and agreement both in the object and mode of worship, is indispensable not only to its welfare, but its existence. Hence the origin of Creeds and Articles of Faith. Much has been said in modern times of the liberty and rights of conscience, and of the tyranny of requiring subscription to any human formularies. The declamation is specious, and is apt to delude the Protestant, who from experience of the Papal yoke is naturally suspicious of whatever seems to interfere with the right of private judgment; yet a calm investigation will satisfy the reasonable enquirer that it is a fallacy. The question before us is not of what Articles our Creed should consist, but whether we should have any. There are no doubt subordinate points on which we may agree to differ; but reduce them ever so much, there must be fundamental tenets, without assenting to which we cannot be members of the same Society. For instance, unless we agree in the *object*

of our worship, we cannot unite with others in prayer. The conscientious Anti-Trinitarian, who regards our blessed Lord as a mere man, would feel himself guilty of idolatry in conforming to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in whose Liturgy He is so often invoked as God; while the Churchman or orthodox Dissenter could not, without doing violence to *his* conscience, join in prayers in which the Son was not honoured as the Father. There must also be an agreement in the *mode* of conducting religious services. The Roman Catholic and we believe alike in the divinity and the efficacy of the death of the Son of God, yet we cannot assemble round our *table* or their *altar* to keep His dying command, while one regards the elements as only indicating His spiritual presence to the worthy communicant, and the other worships what he eats, as the actual Deity. Every Society must have a right to form its own rules, which its members are bound either to keep or to withdraw; for we protest against that iniquitous dogma of Rome, which claims the allegiance of all baptized persons, treating as rebels those who deny her right to teach and govern. The Church is a voluntary union; we may be dismissed from it if we will not conform to its discipline, or we may leave it of our own accord; but while we continue in it, we must submit to its rules.

Baptism, the rite appointed by our Lord for our admission into the Church, significantly declares, that we renounce the service of every other master, and represents the purification required in persons who enter into his. Christ's last instructions to his Apostles was to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; that is, into a religion, the characteristic doctrine of which was a belief in the ever-blessed Trinity. A declaration therefore to this effect was from the beginning required from adult candidates for Baptism, and a belief in these Three Divine Persons, necessarily included not only a declaration of who they were, but what they had done for the believer. It was, to use the language of our own Catechism, a confession of faith "in God the Father, who hath made all things; in God the Son, who hath redeemed all mankind; and in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth the

elect people of God." As errors concerning the nature and offices of these Persons originated and spread, it became necessary to enlarge these Confessions of Faith, in order to exclude heretics. At first, each Bishop drew up a Creed for his own diocese; but the Council of Nice, which was held principally to suppress the Arian heresy, compiled one which soon became that of the Eastern Church, superseding the more ancient local ones. The Apostles' Creed, as it is commonly called, was that of the Apostolic Church of Rome, so termed, because reputed to be founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul; the Athanasian, which seems to have originated in France, was afterwards adopted into the Roman Liturgy; and these three Creeds were the only Articles of Faith, previous to the Reformation. The Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, aware of the evil of multiplying them, had decreed, that the Nicene Creed, as enlarged at Constantinople, should receive no additions; notwithstanding it made decrees in points of faith as well as of discipline. Succeeding Councils followed this example; and though no declaration of faith appears to have been required from others, Bishops engaged to observe all the decrees and traditions of holy Councils and Fathers; and when the Papal power became predominant over Episcopacy, took an oath of obedience to the Bishop of Rome, but it contained no point of doctrine.

The Reformation necessarily required from those who had embraced it, a more explicit declaration of faith than was contained in the ancient Creeds, especially on the points on which they differed from the received opinions. The Churches which separated from the communion of Rome, were bound to shew what were the errors against which they protested, and what were the doctrines they retained. Besides, at the period of the Reformation, as of every revival of religion, tares sprang up together with the good seed, and the pernicious tenets of the Anabaptists and other Antinomians, who turned the grace of God into licentiousness, were charged by Roman Catholic controversialists upon *all* the Reformers. For their own credit, therefore, and to preserve their less instructed members

from dangers of another description, it became desirable that the world should know, that the errors of Rome were not the only ones rejected. We see, therefore, that our Articles, and the Confessions of the foreign Protestants, were drawn up to exclude all, whether Romanists or others, whom it was deemed unfit to admit within the pale of the Church. They are not therefore to be regarded as a statement of fundamental truths, an epitome, as it were, of Theology, but as an abstract both of what is at all times to be received, and of prevalent errors which it was then especially desirable to condemn. Some seem to be such obvious and undeniable propositions, that we wonder at their being brought forward; while others treat of such profound and, I may add, unfathomable mysteries, that we are surprised at their admission into a formulary not designed for Professors of Divinity, but for all the Clergy. History explains the introduction of both. The order too in which they are arranged appears, at first sight, objectionable. It seems natural to settle the rule of faith first, and then to proceed to a statement of the doctrines to be believed; that is, that as in some of the foreign Confessions, and in that of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the Article on the Sufficiency of Scripture should stand first, and that those upon doctrines should follow; but our Reformers preferred stating first the tenets which they held in common with their opponents, before they came to the points of difference. The first five Articles, accordingly, which contain fundamental articles respecting the Deity, are common to us with the Church of Rome. In the three following, the rule of faith is established and explained; the next ten relate to Christians as individuals; the remaining twenty affect them as members of the Church. The Articles therefore may be arranged in four parts.

It is now more than three centuries since Martin Luther, appointed by the Elector of Saxony Professor of Divinity in his new University of Wittemberg, in the 36th year of his age, boldly commenced the Reformation, by the overt act of burning the Papal Bull, which had condemned him as an obstinate heretic. Determined publicly to break off for

ever his connection with the Church of Rome, he had prepared a pile of wood without the city walls, and in the presence of the Professors and Students and the inhabitants, committed to the flames the declaration of his excommunication, together with the volumes of the Canon Law respecting the Pontifical jurisdiction; and to shew that this defiance of the ecclesiastical sovereign of Christendom was no sudden ebullition of passion, he had selected several Articles from the Papal Creed as samples of its iniquity, accompanying them with concise remarks, which he printed, that the public might judge of this proceeding. His indignation had been roused by the sale of Indulgences; and it is remarkable, that they were issued for the completion of St. Peter's Church at Rome, regarded as the noblest edifice of modern art, which has thus become undesignedly a monument of the Reformation. The sale had been delegated to John Tetzel, a Dominican monk of licentious habits, yet of popular eloquence, who executed his commission with effrontery, and shocked even unthinking persons of the world by his scandalous behaviour. A teacher then of the piety and zeal of Luther could not continue a silent unmoved observer of such gross abuses. He accordingly from the pulpit, in the great Church of Wittemberg, inveighed against the vices of those who published Indulgences, and pointed out the danger of relying for salvation upon any other means than those appointed by God. Roman Catholic authors, even moderate ones, such as Guicciardini and Father Paul, ascribe his opposition to his envy at the sale, being entrusted to monks of a rival order. But this has been disproved by Dr. Robertson; and his appeal to Scripture, and his avowal of the doctrine of justification by faith in his conference with Cardinal Cajetan, before throwing off his allegiance to the Pope, show that he was actuated by no worldly motives: and Erasmus expresses his belief, that it was the erroneous preaching of the monks and friars that put him on this dangerous work, and that his greatest offence was his preference of the Gospel to the teaching of the Schoolmen. He had already published his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, which was read with avidity, and was a most powerful instrument in promoting the

Reformation, not by correcting the abuses of papal doctrine, but by demolishing the foundation upon which the system stood, in proving by numberless arguments, and particularly by the marked opposition between law and grace, that in justification before God all sorts of works, moral as well as ceremonial, are excluded. He restores likewise, says Dean Milner[a], to the Christian world the true forensic sense of the term, and rescues it from that in which it for many ages had been misunderstood, as though it meant infused habits of virtue, whence it had been usual to confound justification with sanctification. Luther, he continues, was evidently rather the instrument than the agent of the Reformation, for he was led from step to step by a series of circumstances, which far beyond his original intentions, and in a manner which might evince the excellency of the power to be of God, and not of man. The doctrine of Justification, in its explicit form, had been lost for many ages. In whatever manner the Papist might subtiliże and divide, he was compelled by his system to hold, that, by a compliance with the rules of the Church, pardon was to be obtained, and that the satisfaction of Christ was not sufficiently meritorious for this end. It was evident that no Reformation could take place through the medium of qualifying and correcting the abuses in the sale of Indulgences. The system was wholly impious, and the right knowledge of justification the only remedy; this then was the object of the Reformation, and in the demolition of one of the vilest perversions of superstition, there suddenly revived in all its simplicity that Apostolical doctrine, in which is contained the great mystery of the Scriptures. By this doctrine rightly stated, with all its adjuncts and dependencies, a new light breaks in on the mind, and Christianity appears singularly distinct not only from Popery, but also from all other religions. The glory of the purchase of pardon and peace belongs demonstrable to Christ alone, and thus the self-righteous are rebuked, distressed consciences are relieved, and believers are enabled to bring forth all the fruits of righteousness. The Author had ploughed deep into the human heart, and knew its nature and depravity; he had

[a] History of the Church of Christ, vol. iv. ch. 6.

long laboured to no purpose to gain peace of conscience by legal observances and moral works; and had been relieved from the most pungent anxiety, by a discovery of the remedy. He was appointed in the counsels of Providence, by no means exclusively of the other Reformers, but in a manner more extraordinary and much superior, to teach, after upwards of a thousand years obscurity, this great evangelical tenet, compared with which how little appears all other objects of controversy! Amidst the divisions arising out of Luther's exposing the errors of the Church, the remedy to which all looked, who wished to combine the present system with the reformation of glaring abuses, was a General Council; and to this Luther himself had originally appealed. The Court of Rome, though averse to a measure which might end in the diminution of the Papal authority, could not with decency reject the repeated applications made from the most respectable and even from the highest quarters. Clement, however, who had been not long delivered from his imprisonment during the occupation of his capital by a German army, and could not forget the deposal of his predecessors by the Councils of Pisa and Constance, would offer none but on terms which the Princes who favoured Luther would reject. The Emperor Charles V. therefore, who had just been crowned by him at Bologna, was determined to try the effect of another Diet, which he summoned at Augsburg; the sixth before which the religious differences of the empire had been brought. The first was that at Worms, 1521, where Luther ventured to appear, and defended himself in the presence of the Emperor and his feudatory Princes, but was proscribed as a heretic. In the second held at Nuremberg, 1522, Pope Adrian VI. acknowledged the need of Reformation; and the German Princes presented their list of a hundred grievances, which the Empire suffered from the Court of Rome. The decree of this Diet virtually abrogated the edict of Worms. The fifth was held at Spire in 1549, after peace had been concluded between the Emperor and the Pope. Here the indulgence granted at the former Diet held in the same place was rescinded; for further innovations in religion were

prohibited, and the Mass was not to be abolished before the meeting of a General Council. The Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Luneburg, the Prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen free cities, entered a solemn *protest* against this decree as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished, adds Dr. Robertson, by the name *Protestants*, an appellation which hath since become better known and more honourable, by its being applied indiscriminately to all the sects, of whatever denomination, which have revolted from the Roman See. An extraordinary change, however, has come over the minds of many who have been educated within the pale of our Church, but clearly never trained up in its Homilies and Articles, who repudiate with more or less disgust the title as a foreign appellation, with which Anglican Churchmen ought to have no connection. For this novelty they plead, that it does not occur in our Liturgy, and that Protestantism is a mere negation of error. But to this it is a sufficient reply, that the use was not to be expected in a book of prayers, which is not of a controversial character, and that the Reformed Protestant Church is in our Acts of Parliament the recognised legal title of the branch of the Church Catholic, which is happily established in England and Ireland. The abnegation of error, it should be remembered, is equivalent to the affirmation of the contrary truth, and the most cursory perusal of the Augustan Confession, or of our Thirty-nine Articles, agreeing with it in doctrine, and often in words, will convince any one that they positively maintain the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. It is desirable, especially in these days of Papal aggression, that a term should be brought prominently forward, that shews at once our substantial agreement with the Reformed Congregations on the continent, and may dispel a notion that some persons wish to encourage, that our Church is an insulated one, and is to maintain itself alone, instead of being one in the great confederacy of the Churches of the Reformation, who have a common cause of truth and liberty to support against the common enemy, and whose extension, if not existence, depends so much

upon union. At this Diet, the Elector of Saxony and his friends were called upon to present a summary of their faith, and an account of the reformation of abuses which they demanded. The Elector and his friends were prepared; the Confession or Apology, that is, Defence, as it was at that time called, had been drawn up sometime; Luther had furnished the materials, and it received its form from the pen of Melancthon. It consists of twenty-one chief Articles of Faith, to most of which are rejoined rejections of the opposite errors, so that each topic may be said to be explained both positively and negatively. It is followed by seven others, on the Mass, Communion in both kinds, Confession, and other abuses, and concludes with an Epilogue, in which it is observed, that numerous others might have been specified; but that to avoid prolixity and to promote conciliation, the writers had confined themselves to such[b] as were most essential. Upon this Confession, the continuator of Milner's History remarks, that the Doctrine of the Reformation is all one in the main; and that the slight differences in the formularies of the several Churches are not worthy to be named in comparison with their general agreement. He notices, that there is no Article answering to our XVIIth; but that the XXth, on Faith and Good Works declares that God's promises are to be received as *generally* set forth in holy Scripture, and that as the preaching of repentance is universal, so also is the promise of grace. It would also seem not to admit final perseverance. With all its zeal against justification by works, the Confession is less scrupulous in the use of certain terms than almost all have now learnt to be, for it hesitates not to say of repentance, that it *deserves* [*meretur*] the remission of sins. Further, like a few incidental passages in our Homilies, it seems sometimes to approach too near to confounding faith with the assurance of personal acceptance; and Mr. Scott judges the Confession most defective, as to the work of the Holy Spirit in first preventing and afterwards in working with us. But these are, he adds, only specks in the sun, and that as a whole it is a noble monument of what

[b] Scott's Continuation, vol. i. ch. 1. p. 28, &c.

the Reformers contended for, namely, Christian truth, liberty, and spiritual worship. It is no cold dry doctrinal statement, a sacred unction overspreads it; and it bears upon its face to be the production of men, with whom religion is a matter of deep and serious feeling, and it has a direct reference to give relief to distressed consciences, and to produce spiritual obedience.

The Reformation spread rapidly, but with the formation of the order of Jesuits, a powerful reaction ensued. The Reformation had spread over the whole of Germany, but Protestantism gradually died away in the south, which has been long regained by Rome. Happily it still predominates in the north; and is established in Scandinavia, Holland, and the British empire. In Italy and Spain it was soon suppressed by persecution; in France it has experienced a variety of fortunes. Calvin, obliged to fly his native land, sought refuge in Geneva, which had already embraced the new doctrines, and had ejected its Bishop, who was also the temporal sovereign. His influence soon enabled him to establish there his own Presbyterian platform of Church Government, which he had devised, not in preference to Episcopacy, but as a substitute, because circumstances rendered it impracticable to retain it; and this scheme, which was adopted in Scotland, has had no inconsiderable effect upon England. The French Reformed Church was in its infancy formidable to the Establishment, as reckoning among its supporters many of the nobility, and some of the princes of the blood; and King Henry the IVth, though he renounced on his accession that faith in which he had been educated, granted not merely toleration, but equal civil and political privileges to his Protestant subjects. This edict, which derived its name from Nantes, the city in which it was issued in 1598, was revoked by his grandson Louis XIVth, 1685. Their temples were in consequence demolished, their worship was proscribed, the persecuting cruelty of the middle ages was revived, and many thousand of his most industrious subjects fled to Germany, Holland, and England, where they as manufacturers became useful citizens, and enriched the countries which granted them a home. Protestantism, however, continued to exist, by

degrees the authorities connived at it, but it was not legally tolerated till the Revolution placed it on an equality with the Roman Church, by granting pensions of equal value to their ministers and the priests.

All Protestants agree in the common and distinguishing principle, that Scripture is the sole source of religious knowledge, and they have in general come to the same conclusions as to its meaning; for although one of the most specious arguments of the Romanists, which Bossuet has handled with great adroitness, is the endless variety of the Protestant opinions, against which he urges, that the only remedy is an appeal to some infallible authority, examination will prove that differences have been greatly exaggerated, and that in leading essential Articles there is a substantial uniformity. The Lord's Supper, which ought to be the closest bond of union, we must allow to be an important and melancholy exception. The Lutherans maintain Consubstantiation, that is, the actual existence, after consecration, of Christ's body and blood together with the material elements in the Eucharist; while the followers of Zwingli and of Calvin, the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva, like our own Church, acknowledge no more than *a spiritual* presence in the *receiver*. This difference divides those who have separated from Rome into two bodies, the Protestants and the Reformed, terms which in England are commonly used as synonymous, but correctly speaking the first is equivalent to the Lutheran Church, or Evangelical, to use their own denomination of it, the second to the French or Calvinistic.

In Scotland and on the Continent the Reformation, with few exceptions, ascended from the lower and middle to the upper classes of society. It was generally opposed by the Clergy, who, where they had not power or influence enough to crush it, were swept away by it in its course, and their revenues and episcopal succession were lost; whereas in our country it originated with a few leading men who held the highest offices in Church and State, and had imbibed the doctrines of Luther, and who instead of following gave an impulse to the public mind. A reformation, commenced and carried on by Prelates acquainted with ecclesiastical

antiquity as well as Scripture, and who anticipated their countrymen, and communicated to them as they could bear it, the light which had gradually broke in upon themselves, was cautious and moderate. It was a *reformation*, not a *revolution*. The nomination of Cranmer to the Archbishopric of Canterbury providentially gave him the highest authority in the Church, and the death of the overbearing Henry, and the accession of his son, a child ten years of age, enabled him, as far as circumstances would permit, to model our Church both in doctrine and discipline according to his ideas of primitive Christianity. Thus while all other Protestant Churches, Sweden alone excepted, from necessity rather than choice, have lost episcopal government, substituting as in the Lutheran for Bishops superintendents, our own has retained its Prelates in an unbroken succession, not a new but a revised Liturgy, freed from mediæval superstitious additions, and rites and ceremonies which were in use in the early ages. Henry himself seems to have been solely actuated by personal and political motives, and appears from his Will to have died a doctrinal Roman Catholic. He seems to have considered supremacy and infallibility as inseparable, as if the Act of Parliament which transferred the first could convey the second. As he changed his own opinions, he expected that his subjects should change theirs; he opposed all who differed from him, and sometimes there might be seen in the same fires, Roman Catholics condemned for refusing to acknowledge his supremacy, and Protestants for denying the real presence of Christ in what was called the Sacrament of the Altar. Cranmer, freed from his control, proceeded, but by slow degrees, to establish Protestantism. The laity, excepting those who profited by the spoliation of the Church, seem in general to have been attached to the old religion; his making the German Bucer, and the Italian refugee Peter Martyr, Professors of Divinity at Cambridge and Oxford, shows that the Universities were popishly inclined; and we know the latter was obliged to fly from his residence in Christ Church, upon the arrival of the intelligence of Edward's death, which was celebrated with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. The composing of the First

Book of Homilies, which was Cranmer's earliest undertaking, seems to prove not only the ignorance of the parochial clergy, but an unwillingness to let them preach their own Sermons. Henry had abolished the greater monasteries, partly in order to secure an ascendancy in the Upper House of Parliament, in which the Spiritual Lords, while they included mitred Abbots, in consequence of the extinction of titles by the civil wars, and his father's reluctance to confer new ones, doubled the number of Barons. For the same purpose of promoting the Reformation, the Lower House was enlarged in Edward's reign, by calling upon twenty-two Boroughs which were under Crown influence, seven of them in Cornwall, to return Representatives. In fact, the Reformation appears to have been introduced into England before it was ripe for it, and this opinion derives strength from the fact, of the readiness with which, on Mary's accession, it relapsed into Popery. "Many thought," says Burnet[c], "that Cranmer should have begun with the Articles, and he was much pressed about it by Bucer; but till the Bishoprics were generally filled with persons favourable to the Reformation, it would have been hardly practicable; and the modes of worship by which men in their addresses to the Deity were involved in unlawful compliances, called for reformation more urgently than the settlement of speculative points." Whoever wishes to trace the gradual progress of our Reformation, should examine the formularies that appeared in the preceding reign. These have been printed at our University Press, and the following report of their contents is taken from the present Bishop of St. Asaph's 'Sketch of the History of the Church of England[d].' The works are three: 'Articles devised by the King's Highnes Majestie to stablyshe Christen quietness and unitie among us, 1536;' which were inserted nearly verbatim into the two others. 2. 'The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537;' and, 3. 'A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian Man, 1543.' The first, being dedicated by the Bishops to the King, is called the Bishops' book. It had been long supposed that the Reformers were mainly in-

[c] History of the Reformation, vol. ii. book i. p. 166.
[d] Vol. i. p. 225.

debted to Cranmer for this formulary of doctrine; and the fact is now established beyond dispute, by the recent publication of some letters to Cromwell from Latymer and Fox. The second, by being addressed by the King to his people, is called the King's book, and is a step back towards Romanism. Even the former must not be taken as the fixed and deliberate judgment of Cranmer, which will be found in the Articles published in Edward's reign, sanctioned and probably drawn up by him. These earlier formularies exhibit a mixture of light and darkness, not day light, but rather the dawn that precedes it.

It was not till 1551, that Cranmer received an order, probably at his own request, to frame a book of Articles of Religion. Another cause of delay may perhaps be found in the hope which he long cherished of arranging by common consent a general confession of faith for all the Protestant Churches. The plan originated with Melancthon, but in vain did Cranmer repeatedly invite him into England; and finding at length the impracticability of a project, which however desirable is never likely in the present condition of human imperfection to be achieved, he proceeded to draw up a separate formulary for his own branch of the universal Church. Negociations had been carried on as long back as 1538, between Henry and the German Protestants, for this purpose, first abroad, and afterwards in London. It was arranged according to the Augsburg scheme, that the representatives of the two nations should first settle the chief articles of faith, and should then proceed to inquire into the abuses and corruptions alleged to have crept into the Church. The first division of their consultations they brought to an happy issue; but when they came to examine the abuses, the King differed so widely from the Germans, as to cut off all hope of a satisfactory settlement. There is every probability, that their Confession of faith has been lately found among Cranmer's papers in the State Paper Office. The document is manifestly founded on the Confession of Augsburg, departing from it exactly in these instances where a variation might have been expected. It is also in Latin, which adds to the probability of its having been com-

posed in concert with foreigners; for the formularies of Henry's reign, designed for domestic use, are in English. It appears that this was the groundwork of the forty-two Articles of 1552, and that it was through this channel that the language of the German Confession was introduced into them. At least the inference is supported by the fact, that the expressions in Edward's formulary, usually adduced to prove its connection with that Confession, are also found in this Book, while it contains others common to the two, which will be sought for in vain in the Confession. And to this Book, if it was the result of the Conferences of 1538, the framers of Edward's Articles would be likely to have recourse. They would naturally be anxious to meet the views of their brethren on the Continent, as well as of their countrymen; and they could not pursue a surer method of attaining this object, than by borrowing from a form of doctrine already approved by both[e]. These Articles, however, do not servilely follow either; they are at once more comprehensive and more brief, containing judgments on a greater variety of questions, but entering less into the grounds on which these judgments rest. Their publication might also have been delayed till the King was out of pupillage, that his sanction might give them the more weight, which was obtained only a few days before his death; and it is doubtful whether they obtained any other. The Title, "Articles agreed to in the Synod of London, in 1552, by the Bishops and other godly and learned men," conveys the idea of having been approved by Convocation; but Cranmer when interrogated replied, I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title, and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it; therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered by them, that the Book was so entitled because it was set forth in the time of the Convocation. This, however, is unimportant; for their promulgation was rapidly followed by their abrogation.

The accession of Mary was the signal for the overthrow of all that had been accomplished, and the reestablishment

[e] These remarks are taken from Dr. Jenkyns's Preface to his edition of Cranmer's Works, in which he has printed the Articles themselves.

of the ancient superstition. Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and Latymer, the chief instruments in effecting the changes under her brother, testified the sincerity of their attachment to Protestantism by martyrdom; others who returned to complete the work of reformation, of whom Grindal, Coverdale, Fox, Nowell, and Jewel, still preserve their celebrity, found an asylum in Geneva, Frankfort, and Zurich; and continued in exile until after an interval of five years and a half. Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, and the cruelties of her Sister, which seemed likely to extinguish it, are said to have had more effect than all the preaching or writing of the Reformers, to alienate the nation from Popery. Dr. Parker was appointed Primate. The fabric of error and superstition had been demolished by Cranmer, but his improvements had also been levelled to the ground; and it was Parker's delicate task to rebuild the national Church on the true foundation. He began with procuring the reenaction of the Prayer Book; but though Elizabeth succeeded in 1558, it was not till 1562 that he could get the Articles authorized. A Synod of the Clergy of both Provinces was then assembled, and to them the Archbishop submitted for examination a copy which he had prepared, with considerable alterations, of King Edward's Articles. There is no authentic copy of the Thirty-nine Articles, for it perished with the other records of Convocation in the fire of London. But the Archbishop's own draft is preserved with his other Manuscripts, which he bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; of which Society he had been Master. Strype's account, which used to be followed, is inaccurate; and the recent publication by Dr. Lamb, the late Master, enables me to correct it. The Manuscript is in *Latin*, in a small pale hand, not very correct, and several passages are marked with a red pencil to be omitted, but not by the Archbishop previously in private, as Strype supposed, but afterwards by the Upper House of Convocation, where twenty Prelates, including the Archbishops, testified their approbation of the rest by their signatures. The other Manuscript is an *English* copy of the Articles, as signed again in 1571.

The Archbishop's scheme, as finally adopted by Convocation, has four entirely new Articles[f]; omits four, and alters seventeen, leaving only four untouched. Several of his alterations are taken from the Wirtemberg Confession, 1551. The meaning of the descent into Hell is left open to private judgment, probably in consequence of the request of Alley, Bishop of Exeter, as the subject had excited much discussion in his Diocese. The books of Scripture are enumerated, and an important point is gained by the distinction now introduced between the Canon and the Apocrypha. A sentence is dropped from the twenty-eighth Article, contradictory of the real presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, and to Ubiquitinarianism. Burnet can hardly be correct in his supposition, that this was done to conciliate the Roman Catholics, because the sentence before, which denies Transubstantiation, was not altered; and a new sentence, declaring that the body was only eaten after a heavenly and spiritual manner, was added. A Declaration similar to the omitted sentence had been appended to the Communion Service in King Edward's second book; in Elizabeth's, 1560, it was left out; but was restored at the last revision, 1662, with some alterations. The twentieth Article now commences with these words, "The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." It has been eagerly disputed, whether they were omitted in some editions of the Articles, or inserted in others without authority. Laud on his trial cleared himself from the charge of having forged it, a notary public testifying before the Starchamber, that the clause did exist in the authoritative copies of the Acts of the Convocation, then still remaining in St. Paul's. It does not appear in the Archbishop's draft, submitted to the Upper House, nor in the English copy, printed under his direction, and which would be translated from his copy, nor afterwards in the Latin, or in Jewel's English edition. It first appears in Reginald Wolfe's, that is, the first edition of the Latin, published under the immediate authority of the Queen, and

[f] 5, 12, 29, 30, new.—10, 16, 19, 41, of King Edward's omitted.—2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, altered more or less.

must therefore have been inserted either by the Lower House of Convocation, or by those that copied their Records. The Queen was then endeavouring to establish her prerogative in Church affairs, and to be not only Protector but Director of the faith of her subjects. It might be thought that neither she nor her Council would take upon themselves to alter Articles approved of in Convocation; but we know that the twenty-ninth, "The impious eat not Christ's body," was omitted both in the English and Latin, printed before 1571, in compliance with the wish of Cecil, probably at the suggestion of his Sovereign.

The Articles were brought before the Convocation of 1572, and subscribed, and it was ordered that they should be read quarterly in every parish church, and the Ratification was now added. For this purpose, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, author of the celebrated Apology of the Church of England, was commissioned to superintend the impression of them in English, as well as in Latin. He adopted, with a few verbal variations, the translation already before the public; and we shall find that words ambiguous in the one, are plain and unequivocal in the other. An Act of Parliament in the same year made them a part of the law of the land. They were once more solemnly acknowledged in Convocation, under Bancroft, in 1604, and at the suggestion of Laud, an edition came forth in 1628, with a declaration by Charles I. calling upon all to submit to them in their plain and literal grammatical sense, and not to draw the [that is the XVIIth] Article any way. His object was to discourage any discussion of the Predestinarian Controversy. Before the Revolution, Dissent from the Established Church was punishable as an offence against the State; but Toleration was granted to Protestant Dissenters on the accession of William and Mary. Toleration, however, was very different from the entire religious liberty now enjoyed, for dissenting ministers were considered as pledged to the doctrine of the Church, though allowed to reject its discipline; and they were accordingly, till within the present generation, required to sign the Articles, with the exception of three and a half, that is, the 34th, 35th, 36th, and the disputed clause in the 20th.

The agreement of the different Protestant Confessions is shown in a work printed at Geneva early in the seventeenth century, entitled, Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, accompanied with Scripture proofs, and testimonies from the Fathers; and an examination of these, especially of that presented in 1530 to the Diet at Augsburg, will throw considerable light upon our own. The first and second of the Thirty-nine are obviously taken from the first and third of the Augustan Confession. The ninth, sixteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-first, are principally derived from the same source; and others contain expressions, as ex opere operato, common to both. The verbal correspondence is more strongly marked, by comparing these coincidences with those parts of the Helvetic Confession, in which the same ideas are conveyed in very dissimilar language. There are passages in the works of Luther and Melancthon, which from the similarity of idea, and occasionally of expression, leave little doubt that they were present to the mind of the framer of the seventeenth Article[g]. We may conclude, that the eleventh, on Justification, was drawn from no other source than the investigations of Cranmer himself; for in a book of his own, wherein he had written out a large collection of quotations from Scripture and different authors, he sums up the argument in words corresponding in a great degree with those of that Article; and reference is made to the Homily on Salvation, though under a false title, which is generally supposed to be his composition[h].

When Luther appealed from the Pope to the Church, as represented in a General Council, his demand, supported as it was by Princes and by public opinion, could not be refused, though the Roman politicians delayed it as long as they could. The long promised Council, the last ever convened, assembled in 1547, one year after the death of Luther, and in the same month with that of Henry VIII. It began with settling the standard of appeal, and put

[h] Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, viii. notes 4. 6. see also Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, translated by Justus Jonas.

[g] Bishop of St. Asaph's History.

Tradition upon the same footing as the Scriptures, declared the Apocryphal books to be as much the Word of God as the canonical ones, the Latin Vulgate translation to be as authentic as the original, and forbad all explanations of it contrary to the decisions of Holy Mother Church, to whom only, as it affirms, appertaineth to judge of its sense and interpretation. A year and a half after, a fever broke out at Trent, which afforded an excuse for removing the Council to Bologna, in the Pope's dominions, but no business was transacted there; and in 1551, it resumed its Sessions at its original station. In the following year it was dispersed on the alarm of the approach of Protestant troops through the Tyrol, and was not revived till the year in which our Articles were finally settled. According to Hallam[1], the Council of Trent, especially in its later Sessions, displayed the antagonistic parties in the Roman Church, one struggling for lucrative abuses, the later anxious to overthrow them. They may be called the Italian and Spanish parties, the first headed by the Pope's Legates, dreading above all things the reforming spirit of Constance and Basle, and the independence either of private or national Churches; the other actuated by much of the spirit of these Councils, and tending to confirm that independence. The French and German Prelates usually sided with the Spanish, and they were together strong enough to establish as a rule, that in every Session a decree for reformation should accompany a declaration of doctrine. It closed in 1564, when the upright members were compelled to let it close, after having effected such a reformation of discipline as they could obtain. Upon the whole, the result was favourable to the Church, for the benefit of which it had been summoned. In the determination of doctrine, the Council was generally cautious to avoid extremes, and left in important points, such as the invocation of Saints, no small latitude for private opinion. The rigid definition of Transubstantiation has been condemned as imprudent; but Hallam maintains that there was no alternative, as it had been declared plainly by a Lateran

[1] History of Literature, ii. 2.

Council. And he opposes the modern notion, that the Trent Decrees made important innovations in the prevailing established doctrines of the Western Church. "It will," he continues, "appear, that these decrees were mostly conformable with the sense of the majority of those doctors who had obtained the highest reputation; and that upon Transubstantiation, Purgatory, and Invocation of Saints, they assert nothing but what had been so ingrafted into the faith of this part of Europe, as to have been rejected by no one without suspicion or imputation of heresy." These decrees were not formally promulgated till after the XXXIX Articles, but must have been already known here, from the allusions contained to them in that formulary. These rejected doctrines are stated in the 14th, 22d, 25th, 28th, 30th, and 31st, of our Articles. Other doctrines retained by name, are changed in substance; as the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th. By a review of the doctrines discarded by our Church, on the principle that they are not warranted by Scripture, and by a comparison with the corresponding decrees of the Council of Trent, we discover in these very decrees a confirmation of the principles to which the Church of England appeals; for in none has the Council of Trent pretended to rest on the sole authority of Scripture. Where appeal is made to Scripture appeal is made also to Tradition. But in most, the appeal is to Tradition alone, and in one to neither[k]. The result of the Council was a reformed Breviary or Prayer-book, a Catechism, and a Creed called from the name of the reigning Pontiff, that of Pius IV. which every beneficed priest is required to subscribe; and these supply the accredited doctrines of the Church of Rome; to which, instead of searching the Acts of ancient Councils, or referring to a variety of divines, whose opinions may, whenever it is convenient, be disallowed as those of unauthorized individuals, controversialists have an undeniable right to appeal. It is commonly asserted, that the Trent decrees are not received in Germany or France; but it is only in respect to questions of discipline, for its doctrinal decisions bind all Romanists,

[k] Bishop Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, iii. p. 42—47.

nor can they with any show of reason reject them; for though the respective rights of Popes and Councils are still contested, these decrees, which emanated from the latter, and have been ratified by the former, must be, however reluctantly, admitted.

A reformation of the Ecclesiastical Law had been projected as early as 1532, and commissioners clerical and lay appointed to gather and put in order the materials; but the matter was wholly entrusted to Cranmer. It was not finished in time to become Law under Edward VI.; and the attempt to establish it under Elizabeth failed; so that in Ecclesiastical questions our Courts are still governed in all points not anti-protestant by the Papal Canon Law. The Reformatio Legum was first printed in 1571[h], but though invested with no authority, it may be safely referred to as an authentic record of Cranmer's opinions. My reason for mentioning it here is, that it opens with a statement of religious doctrines, in which the tenets of the Articles are expressed in other words, and with more diffuseness.

Our Saviour's last command was *to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;* and in his discourse with Nicodemus at the opening of his Ministry he had declared, that *God so loved the world, that He gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all who believed in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life: for God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.* Salvation therefore is offered to all to whom the Gospel is preached; yet experience teaches us, that in all countries and in all ages, while some receive the truth in the love of it, others even under exactly the same outward circumstances show, that if acknowledged in words, it makes no impression on the heart, while some even despise and reject it. Since all were alike *dead in trespasses and sins,* none could quicken their own souls; those who believe must have been *chosen* by God the Father in

[h] A corrected edition of this work has lately issued from the University Press, under the careful superintendence of Dr. Cardwell, to whom the world is greatly indebted both for editions of Greek Authors, and of the Liturgies, Injunctions, and other documents of our ecclesiastical history.

Christ *before the foundation of the world, to be holy and without blame before Him in love, being predestinated to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of his will.* The fact is undeniable; still it is not surprising, that the moving cause of this everlasting purpose of God to deliver from damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, since his counsel is secret to us, should have been and still is warmly contested by disputants of different schools; and not only in the Churches that have emancipated themselves from the bondage of Rome, but even within the pale of Rome itself, notwithstanding the proud boast of unity and infallibility. There have been Popes and their advisers inclined to the opposite sides. "The doctrine, that every sinner is capable of seeking the aid of the Holy Spirit, which will not be denied him, and consequently of beginning the work of conversion by his own will, is," says Mr. Hallam[m], "commonly admitted to have been held by the Greek Fathers; but the authority of Augustin and the decisions of the Western Church caused it to assume the character of a heresy: it was generally held by the Schoolmen, by most of the early Reformers, and seems to be inculcated by the decrees of Trent, as much as by our Articles. In a loose and modern acceptation of the word, it often goes by the name of Calvinism; but if it is meant to imply a particular relation to Calvin, it is a misstatement of the historical part of the question." For these mysterious doctrines, which are not revealed in Scripture with the same clearness as the essential Articles of the Faith, were keenly disputed long before the existence of Calvin and Arminius, who among Protestants have given name to their respective systems, of the divine sovereignty, and of foreseen faith, and have since their time been carried on by the Jansenists and Jesuits. Nor is this surprising, since the dispute is not confined to Christianity, predestination and free-will having been warmly agitated among Mahometans, and even by those philosophers who deny any revelation; for the difficulty is one of natural religion, and will be felt by all who acknowledge the omniscience and omnipotence of

[m] History of Literature, vol. iii. 2.

God, and the responsibility of man. Luther, in his treatise on the bondage of the will, De servo Arbitrio, in reply to the Diatribe of Erasmus on its freedom, and in other works, had expressed himself quite as strongly, though not so systematically, as Calvin did at a later period; and the compilers of our Articles thought, that in a summary of the faith they could not pass over predestination. It is however evident, that they were fully aware of the difficulties of the subject; and while they felt it their duty to affirm what they believed, their charity and liberality induced them to state the doctrine in a manner as unobjectionable as possible to its opponents. They express themselves with brevity and singular discretion, confining themselves as closely as they could to the very words of Scripture, wholly omitting reprobation, and studiously as it seems forbearing to give needless offence "to curious and carnal persons lacking the spirit of Christ," and adducing (in contradistinction to God's counsel secret to us) his promises in such way as they are generally set forth in holy Scripture." Under this saving clause, persons who cannot digest the doctrine of Predestination, feel themselves authorized to sign the XVIIth Article; and they are supported by the opinion and practice of many approved writers of our Church, since the introduction of Arminianism through the influence of Archbishop Laud. Before his time there was a general consent among our Divines; for, as Bishop Carleton observes, though disputes arose between the Bishops and the Puritans with respect to Church government, they perfectly agreed in doctrine. Anti-Calvinists have indeed endeavoured to force the Article to speak their own sentiments; yet they must confess, that they would not have expressed them in those words; and a sufficient refutation of their statement is the fact, that Rogers, the first expositor of the Articles, and Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, to whom he dedicated his work, maintains, that it conveys a contrary meaning. Indeed such a statement will not be credited by those who know, that the notes of the Geneva Bible were highly approved by Archbishops Parker and Grindall, and that those attached to the Bishops' Bible are of the same character; and that

Calvin's Institutes was the book in which candidates for Orders were chiefly examined. The first disturbers of this Uniformity, says Bishop Carleton, were Barrett and Baro in Cambridge, in 1595. The latter was the Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity; and Whitaker, his contemporary and opponent, who was the Regius Professor, thus writes on occasion of the Sermon which led to this discussion. "The Church of England, ever since the Gospel was restored, has always held and embraced the opinion of election and reprobation. This Bucer in our University, and Peter Martyr at Oxford, have professed; two eminent divines, who have most abundantly watered our Church with their streams, in the days of King Edward. This opinion their auditors in both our Universities, the Bishops, Deans, and Divines, who upon the advancement of our famous Queen Elizabeth to the Crown, either returned from exile, or were released from the prisons into which they had been thrust for the profession of the Gospel; or saved from the hands of persecuting Bishops; those by whom our Church was reformed, our religion established, Popery thrust out and quite destroyed, (all which we may remember, though few of this kind be yet living,)—this opinion, I say, themselves have held and commended to us; in this faith have they lived, and in this they died, and in this they always wished that we should constantly continue." And in a Sermon preached before the same University in 1625, a few years after the Synod of Dort, Dr. Ward said, "This also I can truly add, for a conclusion, that the Universal Church hath always adhered to St. Austin, ever since his time till now. The Church of England also from the beginning of the Reformation and this our famous University, with all those from thence till now who have with us enjoyed the Divinity Chair, if we except one foreign Frenchman, (Peter Baro,) have likewise constantly adhered to him." Barrett in his Sermon not only preached against the received Calvinistic doctrines, but even denounced by name Calvin and Beza. He was required to make a public recantation, which he did in so unsatisfactory a manner, that he was again summoned before the authorities. He appealed to the Archbishop, but it was an

appeal to one who was disposed to go farther than these Reformers at least thought expedient in a confession of faith. Whitgift drew up nine propositions, in which the highest supralapsarian Calvinism is embodied, and these received, from his official residence, the title of the Lambeth Articles. They were transmitted to Cambridge, in order to be a directory to the preachers; but Lord Burleigh, the Chancellor, was too sagacious to approve of this attempt to narrow the terms of communion; and the Queen, who resented the presumption of the Archbishop as an interference with her prerogative, reprimanded him, and suppressed them. In England they hear no more of them, except that a proposal for their adoption was made at the Hampton Court Conference; but in Ireland they were appended to the Thirty-nine in 1615, but afterwards were dropped, though never formally revoked.

This unsuccessful attempt to impress upon our Church the most ultra Calvinism, induces me to mention, though only indirectly concerning us, the formal acknowledgment of this system, in the milder sublapsarian form, in 1618, by the Synod of Dort, the only assembly of Protestant Divines which bears any resemblance to a Generul Council, as it was convened by the States General of the United Provinces, and was attended by deputies from most of the Reformed Churches. Its object was to decide the question between the Calvinists and the Arminians, who were then heard of for the first time, and derive their name from a Dutch Professor, known in other countries by the Latinised form Arminius. The fate of this Divine is extraordinary: for his celebrity, like that of Jansenius, a Roman Catholic Bishop in the Netherlands, who did not live to publish his volume on the doctrines of Augustin, was posthumous; and neither could have imagined the influence they have since exercised with respect to the profound subjects of their study, even beyond their own contemporaries, and the pale of their respective Churches. Arminius, though brought up in the doctrines of Calvin, and in his University, originated a contrary system, popularly considered as equivalent with Anti-Calvinism, though modern Arminians recede much farther

than he did from the Reformer of Geneva. According to him, foreseen faith is the cause that moved God to bestow salvation, and this he expanded into five Articles. His position at Leyden as a Professor, gave him opportunity to propagate his system with considerable success, and this he was enabled to do with impunity, as these profound questions had not been settled by the Belgic Confession. Arminius himself died nine years before the Synod; and their leader there was Episcopius, who had been his disciple, who was also a Leyden Professor, and was celebrated for eloquence. But no other opportunity of taking advantage of it was allowed him than an introductory address, as his proposal of beginning their defence by refuting the Calvinists was rejected; for the Synod determined that they ought in the first instance to prove their own opinions. They refused to submit to this dictation, and withdrew; and after an examination of their writings in their absence, their doctrines were proscribed, and their meetings suppressed[n]. The Deputies sent to the Synod by James were Carleton Bishop of Llandaff, Hall afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Davenant the Cambridge Margaret Professor, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Ward, Master of Sidney College. Walter Balcanquall, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, was afterwards added as a representative of the Church of Scotland. The Bishop of Llandaff in the name of the rest protested against the decree, maintaining the parity of ministers[o]; but approved of all their doctrinal decisions; and Bishop Hall thus decidedly states his assent; 'I shall live and die in the suffrage of the reverend Synod, and do confidently avow, that those other opinions cannot stand with the doctrines of the Church of England.'

In 1643, the Parliament having suppressed the Established Church, convened an Assembly of Divines, consisting of such persons from the several counties as the Members chose to summon to form a new settlement of religion. They were 120, to whom ten Peers and twenty of the House of Commons were added; but the general attendance varied from eighty to sixty. The Assembly was entirely dependent

[n] Mosheim, vol. v. sect. 16. ch. 2. [o] Fuller's Church Hist. v. x. s. 1.

on the Parliament, and was in fact but a Committee to prepare ecclesiastical matters for their consideration. Their first undertaking was a revision of the Articles, which proceeded no further than the fifteenth, the work being suspended by their examination of the "Solemn League and Covenant." The alterations are few. The descent into hell is explained to mean, being under the dominion of death. Neither the Creeds nor the Apocrypha are mentioned. The imputation of Christ's obedience and satisfaction to us is introduced, and "works which have the nature of sin" is changed into sinful. They then proceeded to draw up an independent confession of faith, which is a body of divinity in rather striking contrast with the studied brevity of the Thirty-nine Articles. Mr. Marsden[p], in his history of the later Puritans, characterises it as in many respects an admirable summary of Christian faith and practice. "The style is pure and good, the proofs selected with admirable skill, the arguments are always clear, the subjects well distributed, and sufficiently comprehensive to form at least the outline of a perfect system of divinity." On the other hand, one fault pervades the whole: it is cast in the most exact and rigid mould of ultra-Calvinism, and treats the most difficult questions of the divine decrees with an air of confidence, which has a tendency to repel English Christians, who will heartily agree in their concluding sentence. "The doctrine of this high mystery of Predestination is to be handled with especial prudence and care; that men attending the will of God, revealed in his word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel." Their other works were a Directory for Public Worship, and a larger and a shorter Catechism; which are used both in the Kirk of Scotland, and by the orthodox Dissenters in England. On the doctrine of the Sacraments, we do not perceive a shade of difference from the teaching

[p] Chap. 2.

of the Church of England. It was determined that there should be no proposition in the Catechism, that was not contained in the Confession. On the Restoration, the Liturgy and Articles recovered their legal authority; but in Scotland, the Confession of these Westminster Divines became the rule of faith of the Kirk, as it was established at the Revolution.

Our estimation of the Articles will increase on comparison with the formularies of other Churches, by which the prudence and moderation of those who drew them up will appear, who we shall be satisfied made them as comprehensive as they could, without opening the door to dangerous error. Roman Catholics of course were to be excluded; but there were also serious differences among Protestants. In Mary's reign, there had been discussions among those who were in prison for religion respecting Predestination; but the 17th Article remained untouched, being very cautiously worded, and little more than a transcript from Scripture. Great moderation is also shown in the question of Church government: for though a declaration is required, that the form appointed for Ordination of Ministers contains all things necessary to give it validity, and nothing superstitious or ungodly; there is no condemnation of the Presbyterian, or of any other method. An objection has been made to the number of these Articles, yet the framers of them, by reducing them from 42, showed that they wished to have no more than they deemed necessary; and if in process of time any should become obsolete, its retention is no grievance, it is but superfluous. There is also a fallacy in objecting to their number, for none can object to those that do not contradict their belief; and therefore it is indifferent to a Protestant how many of the Roman Catholic peculiar tenets are condemned. Articles of faith, we should remember, are the results of events, and are designed to oppose existing errors. This distinguishes them from systems of divinity, which explain and prove tenets, though they may not be disputed. The foreign Confessions are fuller, and support their assertions by proofs; and the Westminster Divines confirmed ours by texts. In an ex-

position it is desirable, but not in the actual formulary, since the application may be erroneous, and, as far as it is so, would commit us to a false interpretation of Scripture.

Their conciseness and reference to doctrines which they condemn without confuting, as of the Pelagians and the Schoolmen, assuming them to be known, seem, at least after a lapse of time, to require a commentary. The earliest exposition, that of Roberts, dedicated to the Archbishop, appeared in 1607, little more than forty years after their reception. It is very short, but specifies, like the foreign Confessions, the parties against whom each Article is directed, and supports the doctrine by citations from these Confessions, from the Fathers, and from the Bible. He has been followed by many expositors, of whom Bishops Burnet and Tomline are the best known. The work of the former is full of information, especially on the Roman Catholic controversy. That of the latter is principally an abridgment of it, with additions from Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed. I have made some use of the work of the pious Bishop Beveridge, the appearance of which in a complete form, from the University Press, we owe to the purchase of the manuscript of the concluding volume by the learned and venerable President of Magdalen College. But my chief obligation is to Dr. Hey's Lectures on Divinity, which suggested to my mind this compilation, and without the important assistance of various kinds derived from it, I should never have completed it. I am indebted for the history of the Articles to his text, or the authorities which he has quoted; and for many reflections, which I have often given in his own language, as more expressive than any that I could commend. I therefore greatly regret my inability to give his work unqualified praise. He is the critic as well as the interpreter, and is of that lax school, which would explain away or lower some vital truths; so that I must often dissent from his conclusions, and lament that his boldness, and the tone that pervades the work, prevent my recommending it to the student, though on subordinate points I have greatly profited by its perusal.

In an irreligious and latitudinarian age, an opinion was started, that the Articles were only Articles of peace, that is,

that those who signed them only engaged not to contradict their assertions. This appears to me to be no better than a transparent fallacy, by which persons, whose worldly interest, as tutors or incumbents, required their conformity to this standard of doctrine, endeavoured to pacify their consciences. Such when they preach must at best be silent on tenets, on which they dissent from the judgment of the Church to which they profess to adhere; but what society would be satisfied with neutrality? Surely churchmen have a right to demand, that the doctrines of their Church should not merely be not opposed, but that they should be explained and enforced. Many who favoured this view, petitioned Parliament to be relieved from subscription; and few, I apprehend, who have no scruples in signing, will be convinced by them. The advocates of this evasive scheme were mostly of doubtful orthodoxy with respect to the cause of justification, and of the proper Divinity of the Author of our redemption, and found some favour in Cambridge. The supposition will seem most unreasonable to an unbiassed mind; and I apprehend never occurred, till Protestants began to doubt of the doctrines of the Reformation. In our own days, a similar attempt has been made in the opposite direction. A resident Fellow of a College, following out the almost forgotten work of Francis à Santa Clara, who, in the reign of Charles the First, published a celebrated Tract, in which he endeavoured to shew, by a strained non-natural interpretation, how all these Articles could be honestly signed by a believer in the peculiar tenets of Rome; and another gloried in the liberty of professing within our Church the whole circle of Roman doctrine. Some made a distinction between holding and maintaining, between believing and teaching; but most of these have shown in the completest manner their conviction of their error, by conforming to the Church to which they were already in judgment and feelings attached. We may fairly conclude, that the Articles were framed to exclude those who maintained what the framers of them regarded as damnable heresies, for they condemn not exploded but prevalent errors; and the notion is refuted by the very title, "Articles agreed upon for the avoiding

of diversities of opinions, and for the establishment of consent;" and could never be honestly advocated by those who are called upon to sign the 36th Canon, which includes an acknowledgment that all and every Article, besides the Ratification, are agreeable to the word of God. This is positively asserted, as Dr. Wilson reminds us, in the Ordination Service, in the solemn injunction to the candidates, to bring those committed to their care to such an agreement of faith, that there be no place left for error in religion. His comparison of the Articles with the more expanded statement of doctrine in the Homilies, and their practical application in the Liturgy, is a most elaborate work, which few would have had the perseverance to complete, but which has amply repaid his labour of love, by the perfect harmony which it demonstrates to pervade all our authorized formularies. He has extended his citations to Nowell's Catechism, Jewel's Apology, and Bullinger's Decades of Sermons, which though they do not formally demand our assent, speak, we cannot doubt, the sentiments of our Reformers; for in the same Convocation which directed the setting forth of the Articles, it was ordered, that these two books should be joined with them in one book, to be authorized as containing true doctrine. In the Convocation of 1586, among other "Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior Ministers, and more diligent preaching and catechizing;" the especial study of these Sermons was enjoined on Curates; and whoever has read our ecclesiastical history, knows that Bullinger was the personal friend of those who restored the Reformation in England, and that they were ever ready, in all questions of doctrine or discipline, to defer to his judgment.

LECTURE I.

ARTICLE I.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness: the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in the Unity of this Godhead there be Three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

The existence, unity, and perfection of the Deity, are taught by Natural Religion: they can, therefore, occasion no disputes among Christians; yet it seems desirable, if not indispensable, to open a Confession of Faith with an acknowledgment of these fundamental truths, as introductory to the assertion of a tenet, denied by some, and incorrectly stated by more; which reason, though it accepts, is incapable of discerning—the Plurality of Persons in this Unity, which Theologians for convenience call by one word, Trinity.

Taking as we do the word of God for our rule of faith, we have no need curiously to search for a truth which lies on the surface. For it was thus emphatically announced by Moses[a], *Hear, O Israel, Jehovah thy God is one Jehovah*, accompanied with its proper consequences; *Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul, and all thy might*[b]; and solemnly repeated under the new Covenant by our Lord, who, when questioned by a Scribe, replied, that it was *the first and great commandment*. Still if there be any dispute respecting this foundation of all

[a] Deut. vi. 4, 5.

[b] In the original, with all that is thine, which may apply to energy of mind or to property, in which latter sense it is taken by the Targum and the Syriac version.

religion, it must be with the Atheist; and therefore instead of referring to the word of God, as we shall do with Christian disputants, it seems reasonable to deduce this doctrine from what is called natural religion. But before we consider the discoveries or rather the conjectures of unassisted reason[c], I would point out the distinction drawn by the late Dr. Chalmers between *unbelief* and *disbelief*. "The former," writes that eloquent theologian and able metaphysician, "we apprehend to be the farthest amount of the atheistical verdict on the question. He does not positively affirm the position that God is not, but he affirms the lack of evidence for the position that God is. He is but an *Atheist*, not an *Antitheist*." And there is one consideration which affords the enquirer a singularly clear and commanding position at the outset of this great question. It is this. We cannot, without a glaring contravention to all the principles of experimental philosophy, recede to a further distance from the doctrine than simple Atheism. To be able to say that there is a God, we have only to look abroad on some definite territory, and to point to the vestiges of his power and presence somewhere. For man not to know of a God, he has only to sink beneath the level of our common nature; but to deny Him, he must be a God himself. "The wonder," says Foster in one of his Essays, "turns on the great process by which a man could grow to the immense intelligence that can know there is no God. This intelligence involves the very attributes of Divinity, while a God is denied; for if he cannot assign with certainty the cause of all that he perceives to exist, that cause may be a God. If he does not know every thing that has been done, some things may have been done by God. Thus, unless he knows all things, that is, precludes another deity by being one himself, he cannot know that the Being whose existence he rejects, does not exist."

There are two methods of proving the Divine existence. We may by a train of subtle reasoning deduce this primary truth from the nature of things, which is called the argumentum a priori; or instead of descending from metaphysical abstraction, we may ascend from the contemplation

[c] Bridgwater Treatise, chapter on the defects and uses of Natural Theology.

of effects, to the first Great Cause of all things, and rise "through nature up to nature's God." One of the ablest attempts of the first kind is the work of Dr. Samuel Clarke, which he confidently calls a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God. "I have confined myself," he observes, "to one only method or continued thread of arguing, which I have endeavoured should be as near to mathematical, as the nature of such a discourse would allow." He proceeds to state twelve Propositions, which grow out of one another; but for them and his chain of reasoning, I must refer the reader to the work. Let him, however, not be disheartened, if he should find it difficult to follow, or if it fail to convince him. Our great satirical poet, who viewed the contemporary metaphysician with no friendly eye, replies to Dulness in the person of a gloomy clerk,

> Sworn foe to mystery, yet divinely dark,

at once alluding to the name as well as to the profession of this eminent author[c].

> Let others creep by timid steps and slow,
> On plain experience lay foundations low,
> By common sense to common knowledge bred,
> And last to Nature's cause through Nature led.
> All seeing in thy mists, we want no guide,
> Mother of arrogance, and source of pride!
> We nobly take the high *Priori* road,
> And reason downward till we doubt of God.

Nor is this to be altogether set down to Pope's ill-nature, for there are grave and unprejudiced authors who maintain that such metaphysical reasonings should be discarded, as endangering instead of maintaining natural religion. This very demonstration they endeavour to shew us is inconclusive. It is an attempt to demonstrate, that there is a first cause, by shewing that an infinite series of causes and effects makes the absurdity of an effect without a cause, and yet the notion of a first cause necessarily implies existence without a cause. The questions of natural religion are *facts*, it must therefore like natural philosophy be an inductive science. Our knowledge of the existence and

[c] Dunciad, iv. 465.

attributes of God, as far as that knowledge is traceable by the light of nature, is acquired by the same intellectual process as our knowledge of the laws of the physical world. By this reasoning Newton discovered the true system of the heavens, and it is only by this reasoning that the Theist can ascertain from the light of nature the existence and the attributes of Him who made the heavens. Newton discovered by a complete induction, that the principle of attraction extends throughout the universe. Experience assures the Theist of the general fact, that in human affairs intelligence produces regularity, order, and the aptitude of means to ends; and looking through nature, he every where observes the same, though in a higher degree, and hence infers, that intelligence pervades and governs the universe. Whiston, pointing to a nettle while walking with Clarke, told him, that it contained better evidence of the existence of the Deity than all his metaphysics; to which he answered, that as Theism had been metaphysically assailed, he was anxious to show that it might be metaphysically defended; and indeed in this very discourse he allows, that the argument a posteriori is more satisfactory. "The substance of Dr. Clarke's argument," says Dugald Stewart[c], "is supposed to have been suggested to him by a passage in Newton's Principia, and is essentially the same, amounting to the following proposition, 'that space and time are only abstract conceptions of an immensity and eternity, which force themselves on our belief; and as immensity and eternity are not substances, they must be the attributes of a Being who is necessarily immense and eternal.'" "These," says Dr. Reid, "are the speculations of men of superior genius; but whether they be as solid as they are sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination in a region beyond the limits of human understanding, I am unable to determine." To this his able and admired disciple, Stewart, adds, "After this candid acknowledgment, I need not be ashamed to confess my own doubts. But although the argument as stated by Clarke does not carry complete conviction to my mind, there is something peculiar and very wonderful in these

[d] Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Men, vol. i. p. 334, &c.

conceptions of immensity and eternity, which force themselves on our belief. Nay further, I think that they furnish important lights in the study of natural religion. For when once we have established the existence of an intelligent and powerful Cause from the works of creation, we are unavoidably led to apply to Him our conceptions of immensity and eternity, and to conceive Him as filling the infinite extent of both with his presence and his power. Nor is this all. It is from our ideas of space and of time, that the notion of infinity is originally derived, and it is thence that we transfer the expression by a sort of metaphor to other subjects. When we speak therefore of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, our notions if not wholly borrowed from space and time, are at least wonderfully aided by this analogy, so that the conceptions of immensity and eternity, if they do not of themselves demonstrate the existence of God, yet necessarily enter into the ideas we form of his nature and attributes."

The existence of the Deity is not an intuitive truth, but the process of reasoning consists only of a single step, and the premises belong to that class of first principles, which form an essential part of the human constitution. These premises are two in number. The one, that every thing that begins to exist must have a cause; the other, that a combination of means conspiring to a particular end implies intelligence. It is interesting to hear Voltaire say, that he doubts if there be any metaphysical proof which speaks more forcibly to man than the admirable order that reigns in the universe; and if there has ever been a better argument than the verse, *the heavens declare the glory of God;* and you see that Newton produced no other at the end of his Optics and the Principia. This argument from final causes, it is observed by Reid, when reduced to a syllogism, contains two propositions; the major, that design may be traced from its effects; the minor, that there are appearances of design in the universe. The ancient sceptics granted the first, but denied the second; the moderns, as Hume, in consequence of the discoveries in natural philosophy, have been obliged to abandon the ground which their pre-

decessors maintained, and have disputed the major: and Stewart agrees with Hume, that our belief of the existence of a designing cause is not the result of reasoning; but, he adds, that it arises from the intuitive perception of the mind. The authority of these truths are at least on a footing with those that rest on demonstration, in as much as all demonstration is ultimately founded on them; and it is incomparably superior to that of truths learnt from experience, in as much as the contrary of these is always conceivable, and never implies any absurdity or contradiction. As a further proof that this principle is not demonstrable, we may remark, that those authors who have been most successful in exposing the doubts of sceptics on the subject, have had recourse not to argument but to ridicule, and have rested their cause chiefly on a view of the absurdity and inconsistencies, into which similar doubts would lead us, if they were extended to the common concerns of life. Thus Tillotson[e] declares, that as there is nothing before God, nor any cause of his being, neither his attributes nor his existence can be proved by way of *demonstration*, but of *conviction*, by shewing the absurdity of the contrary. Waterland[f] has taken an historical and a critical view of this argument a priori, and the result of his examination is, that it has been maturely considered by men of the brightest parts and coolest judgments, by ancients and moderns, Pagans and Christians, Fathers and Schoolmen, and by all as with one voice condemned and exploded, though disposed, if it were of any force, to accept it: for who would not prefer, if it could be had, *demonstration* to the highest *probability?* Two eminent men of our day, Chalmers and Lord Brougham, have lately written upon Natural Theology, and both agree in pronouncing Dr. Clarke's Demonstration inconclusive. Lord Brougham shows that it has no existence, being no more than a very imperfect process of induction; and Chalmers detects in it two fallacies. Dr. Brown observed before them, that these reasonings a priori, if strictly analysed, are found to proceed on some assumption of the very truth for which they contend; and that instead of throwing ad-

[e] Sermon 100, vol. ii. [f] Ch. i. p. 426.

ditional light on the argument for a Creator, they have only served to darken it, by leading us to conceive, that there must be some obscurity in Truths, which could give an occasion to reasons so obscure. "God, and the world which He has formed," says Chalmers, "are our great objects. Every thing which we strive to place *between* them is *nothing*. We see the universe, and seeing it, we believe in its Maker. It is the universe therefore which is our argument, and our only argument; and these obscure and laborious a priori reasons would rather lead us to doubt than to believe. Surely if they had any weight, they would as *demonstrations* convince even sceptics. We cannot perhaps without an inspired teacher attain to a firm belief in the *moral* attributes of God; but an *intelligent* first cause of all things seems to be a necessary conclusion, from the fact of our own existence, and of that of the world we live in. Since the world exists, it must have existed as it is for ever, or have had a Creator. Now the possibility of our conceiving its non-existence, or its existence under another form, contradicts the first supposition. Effects imply a cause, and in the animals that inhabit the earth, in the structure of that earth itself, and in the heavenly bodies, we see with the mind's eye, as if reflected in a mirror, Him who is in Himself invisible. And it appears from St. Paul's delineation of the natural man in his Epistle to the Romans, that the *eternal power and Godhead* are so legibly impressed upon the works of God, that they who open not their eyes to such evidence, are without excuse. Conscience, the monitor whom God has placed within us, above all, ought to convince us of the existence of some Being to whom we are accountable. Our belief then in this most important truth need not depend upon abstruse metaphysical reasoning. We have but to look around, and every where we shall see evidence of an intelligent Creator, that is, of God. A closer examination will strengthen the impression, and the better we become acquainted with his creatures and with their adaptation to promote their own happiness, and the general good of the whole, the more deeply we shall be convinced, that the world exhibits not the mere exertion of power, but

such an adjustment of means to an end, as we call wisdom; and that the end is the distribution of universal happiness, which gives us the highest conception of goodness.

A foundation so deeply laid in the constitution of the human mind for belief in a Deity, has produced in every age an acknowledgment of his existence all but universal. Accordingly, the few tribes who are said to have no idea of God, are in a state little raised above the brute creation, and seem to have few of the perceptions and sentiments of men; and some even of these may have vague notions which they cannot express. The testimony of those who have been left to their own surmises without the light of Revelation on such a subject, are of the first importance. I therefore introduce a passage from Cicero's dialogue on the Nature of the Gods. (ii. 38.) "Whoever thinks that the wonderful order and incredible constancy of the heavenly bodies and their motions is not governed by an intelligent Being, is himself void of all understanding; for shall we, when we see an artificial machine, a sphere or dial, acknowledge at first sight that it is the work of art and understanding, and make any doubt that the heavens are the work not only of reason, but of an excellent and divine reason?" Galen indeed lived after the Christian æra, but it is not probable that he condescended to learn from persons so despised as Jews and Christians, and of whom he himself speaks contemptuously; and therefore his testimony to the Divine perfections may be taken as the testimony of genuine natural religion, that is, not of Christians who lay aside for the moment Revelation, but of heathen sages. In concluding his treatise on the use of the parts of the human body, he says, that "a work which may at first appear to be of small acoount, is the beginning of accurate Theology, which is more valuable than the whole practice of medicine." Having expressed his opinion, that if any person from ignorance of her works accused Nature of want of skill, a study of anatomy would make him ashamed, and bring him to a better state of mind; being convinced by Hippocrates, who in all his works is praising her justice and prudence towards animals, he particularises some atheistical objec-

tions which had been brought against the human structure, and then bursts into this magnificent encomium. "But if I should make further mention of these cattle, persons of sound mind would justly blame me, and say, that I polluted this sacred discourse, which I put together as a genuine hymn to our Creator; and this I esteem real piety, not that I should sacrifice thousands and thousands of hecatombs of *his* bulls, and offer up cassia and ten thousand other odours as incense; but first, that I should myself understand Him, and then explain to others what He is, as to wisdom, as to power, and as to benignity. To will to adorn this whole world, and to leave nothing destitute of his goodness, I lay down as a proof of perfect benignity, and therefore He is to be praised by us as good; but to discover how this may be best adorned is the height of wisdom, and to effect whatever He hath chosen is evidence of power that cannot be withstood." Even Cicero with his imperfect knowledge could find reason to say, that all "the parts of the world are so constituted, that they could not be either better for use, nor more beautiful for show." In his eloquent description of man[g], the idea of which was probably suggested by a discourse of Socrates recorded by Xenophon[h], he speaks with peculiar admiration of the hand, which Galen deemed was alone sufficient to prove the wisdom of the Creator; and it might be a vague recollection of this that induced the Earl of Bridgwater, in leaving his magnificent prize for a Treatise on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as manifested in the creation, to specify the construction of this instrument, which may be considered as the organ which above all gives to man a superioity in his physical construction to the animals, who approach him nearest in shape or sagacity. "If," says Dr. Clarke, in the Discourse which we have been considering, "Galen could perceive in the human body such undeniable marks of design as to force him, though originally inclined to atheism, to acknowledge the wisdom of its Author, what would he have said if he had known the late discoveries in anatomy, such as the circulation of the blood?" Had he lived in our age, he would

[g] De Natura, ii. 60. [h] Memorabilia.

have improved his hymn with the grateful recognition of the Psalmist, "*I will praise thee, O Lord, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made.*"

This evidence is of a growing kind, proportioned to the advancement of knowledge; and in no age is it so striking as in our own, when every year is accumulating new facts in natural history; and chemistry and electricity are continually supplying us with new agents to decompose what our ancestors thought were elementary substances, and to explain the phænomena of nature. The telescope and the microscope have also opened to us two new worlds; and philosophers have been so astonished with the magnifying power of the latter, that they have exclaimed, that the Creator is greatest in most minute works. Our writers in natural philosophy often pause to express their admiration of the laws to which it has pleased the Creator to subject matter and organised beings; and several works have been written with the purpose of deducing the wisdom and benevolence of the Supreme Being, from a scientific examination of his works. Of these the most popular is the Natural Theology of Paley, who though a great borrower, has the happy art of giving to what he selects an air of originality. The comparison, with which it opens, of a stone and a watch, and the pointed terms in which he explains how the parts of the latter are put together for a purpose, contrasts favourably with the tedious enumeration of Nieuentyt, from whose treatise the idea of a watch is borrowed. It had been already in the preceding century brought forward by Sir Matthew Hale, and may be traced up to the passage which I have quoted from Cicero. The inexhaustible marks of design in existing objects, which our increasing knowledge is continually enlarging, has a tendency to weary; and therefore it is perhaps well to take Paley's advice. "In all cases, wherein the mind feels itself in danger of being confounded by variety, it is sure to rest upon a few strong points, or perhaps upon a single instance; among a multitude of proofs, it is *one* that does the business. For my part, I take my stand in human anatomy. And then he draws out a few examples of mechanism from the copious catalogue which it

supplies. Chalmers is of the same opinion, and shows, that as in astronomy the independent elements are few and simple, whereas in anatomy there is a crowded and complex combination of them; we find in the construction of an eye, more intense evidence for a God, a more pregnant and legible inscription of the Divinity, than can be gathered from a broad and magnificent survey of the skies, lighted up though they be, with the glories and wonders of astronomy." He proceeds to observe[g], that it is not in the laws of matter but in their collocation that the main evidence for a Divinity lies, because of the utter inadequacy of the existing laws to have originated the collocations of the material world. "It is true, that we accredit the author of natural mechanism with the creation, and laws of matter, as well as with its dispositions; but this does not hinder its being in the latter, and not in the former, that the manifestations of skill are most apparent." Newton, towards the end of the third Book of the Optics, bears this very distinct testimony upon this subject. "For it became Him who created them to set them in order; and if He did so, it is unphilosophical to seek for any other origin of the world, or to pretend that it might arise out of a chaos by the mere laws of nature; though being once formed, it may continue by these laws for many ages." I am myself more struck with the adaptation of independent beings to one another, than with the relations of the parts of any one animal to the whole. Take the instances suggested by Paley[h]; "Can it be doubted whether the wings of birds bear a relation to air, and the fins of fishes to water? The organs of voice and respiration are indebted for the success of their operation to the peculiar qualities of the fluid in which the animal is immersed. And the element of light and the organ of vision, however related in their office and use, have no connexion whatever in their origin. The animal eye does not emit light, and the sun might shine for ever on other parts of the body without the smallest approach towards producing the sense of sight. Thus the sheep is evidently made for the clothing and food of

[g] Introduction. [h] Natural Theology, 17.

man, but it could not exist unless the earth had been covered with herbage; and He, *whose tender mercies are over all his works,* has contrived this not only for the existence but for the pleasurable life both of sheep and man. At the termination of each day's creation it is said, *God saw what He had made, and it was good;* but when the whole was completed, God pronounced *it very good.* And by this I understand, that plants, fish, birds and beasts, and man, the crowning work of creation, were all good in themselves; but that when the Creator viewed the creation as a whole, and the bearing of one part upon the rest, He then pronounced it to be *very* good.

This argument is as inexhaustible as creation, of which every object is a wonder, and proclaims the incomprehensible power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator. Every star in heaven, every beast upon earth, every plant, some in a language very loud and express, others in a strain more still and low, (yet sufficiently audible to an attentive ear,) proclaim these glorious properties of God. *There is neither speech nor language, but their voices are heard among them; their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words to the ends of the world*[i].

No man hath seen God at any time[j]*;* his existence, therefore, is not known, but believed; and this is the grand obstacle to belief, but it is only an obstacle because we do not form a proper estimate of our faculties. The Deity is not the object of any of our senses, but even in this world some animals possess senses of which others are destitute; and a higher order of rational beings than ourselves may have the capability of perceiving the presence of spirits. The irrational powers of nature are known to us only by their energies; thus gravitation, though penetrating all bodies, and exerting its influence every where, is not cognizable by the senses, and is only known to exist from its effects. It ought not, therefore, to surprise us, that we cannot see the Divine Nature; but we may be sure that He is not the soul of the universe, or any portion of it; for organized substances include marks of contrivance,

[i] Natural Theology, 23. Ps. xix. 3, 4. [j] John i. 18.

but whatever shows contrivance carries us to something beyond itself, as the contriver must have existed before the contrivance. After all the schisms and struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity. The marks of design are too strong to be got over. Design must have had a designer. That designer must have been a person. That person is God. But our feelings seem to reproach us with endeavouring to ascertain by a process of reasoning, what the heart admits at once as a self-evident proposition, the existence of that great First Cause, *in whom we live and move and have our being;* and indeed the conviction, that we do not live "in a fatherless world," but under the providential care of a benevolent God, which can alone sustain us in the hour of affliction, once received, cannot be renounced by the human mind, till it is blinded by pride, hardened by corruption or discontent, or misled by sophistry. Practical Atheists are too common, but speculative rejection of this fundamental truth ever has been, and we may venture to say ever will be, exceedingly rare.

The Psalmist[k] tells us, that it is the *fool* who says *that there is no God;* and the world without us, and perhaps our own mind, still more powerfully proclaims his existence. "Therefore," says Bacon, "there was never miracle wrought to convert an atheist, because the light of nature might have led him to confess a God; but miracles have been wrought to convert the idolatrous and superstitious, because no light of nature extendeth to declare the will of God. His works do show the omnipotence and wisdom of the Maker, but not his image[l]." This train of thought seems to have been anticipated in the nineteenth Psalm, where after pointing to the heavens as declaring the glory of God, the Psalmist sends us to the brighter revelation of the Law as alone capable of converting the soul. The Scriptures accordingly, though abounding in the grandest descriptions of the attributes of the *Holy One that inhabiteth eternity*, never condescend to argue his existence. This is in part to be ascribed to the circumstances under which they were composed. A Missionary to the heathen may, like Paul at Lystra and Athens,

[k] Ps. xiv. 1.

[l] Advancement of Learning, b. ii.

find it necessary to commence with this elementary truth; for it is a knowledge that ignorance may lose, and false philosophy may explode; but the Israelites had been favoured with a visible manifestation of the Deity, and had been accustomed to a series of miraculous interferences, before Moses committed their history and the Law to writing. It would have been superfluous to have announced the existence of the Deity to a people who had heard his voice, and been delivered from their enemies by his outstretched arm, and maintained in the wilderness by his special Providence.

The descendants of Noah, however far they might wander, would carry with them a traditionary knowledge of the existence of God; and it would be more correct to say that this truth was discoverable, than that it had been discovered by reason; for man, even in the original unimpaired perfection of his intellectual and moral powers, was not left to ascertain this truth either by the a priori or by the a posteriori method. His Creator revealed Himself to him at his creation, and made known his will; and even after his disobedience, continued his intercourse with him. God was pleased to renew his covenant with Noah, who may be regarded as the second parent of the human race; and such was the longevity of man, even after his age had been shortened at the deluge, that Shem was contemporary with Abraham, and might communicate to the men of that generation the traditionary knowledge of the Antediluvians. Truth, notwithstanding, was soon intermixed with error; the heavenly bodies and deceased benefactors were gradually introduced to share the worship due to the Creator alone, till they engrossed the devotion of the nations; and the only real God would have been forgotten, had He not called Abraham out of a land of idolaters, to make him the parent of a people who were to be separated from the rest, in order to keep up in the world a belief in this fundamental truth. It was Polytheism, not Atheism, that was the error of ancient times; "for there was no nation," says Cicero[m], "so barbarous as not to acknowledge God; the idea is born with and

[m] De Natura, ii. 4.

as it were engraved on the minds of all, that there are gods; their existence none denies, but they differ much as to *what* they are;" and from a superstitious fear of offending any by neglect, they seem to have been continually increasing their number. It was in a later age that the absurdities of the popular belief and the vicious character of their deities, disgusted thinking men, and drove them into the opposite extreme of renouncing all religion as the invention of interested priests.

Paley[n] affirms, that the argument for the Divine Unity goes no farther than to an unity of counsel; yet his own remarks upon the uniformity of plan observable in the universe, seem to compel us to refer the whole to one simple, indivisible, eternal, unlimited cause, and he ends with saying, "One Being has been concerned in all." One Being, possessed of all the attributes which we ascribe to Deity, is sufficient to produce and regulate the effects which we behold, and to advance what it is unnecessary to admit, is contrary to the rules of philosophizing. Self-existence and infinity exclude the supposition of plurality. If another could partake of them, the first would be deficient and limited. Two such beings of different nature could not coexist, being equal and every where; meeting they would destroy each other; if of the same, their existence would coincide, that is, they would be but one[o]. Let it be considered also, that the unity of the Supreme Being is even admitted by Polytheists. We may therefore conclude, that it is a doctrine congenial to the human mind, since those who maintained a plurality of Gods, agreed in their subordination to one, the King and Father of them all. "So speak," I quote Maximus Tyrius[p], "the Greek and the Barbarian, the islander and the inhabitant of the continent, the wise and the unwise:" and Tertullian[q] writes, "The greater part of mankind, even when idolatry obscured the sense of the Divine Sovereignty, appropriated the name of God more especially to One, being accustomed to say, if God grant, and, I commend it to God." Thus Jupiter is

[n] Natural Theology, 25. [o] Wollaston's Religion of Nature, v. vii.
[p] Diss. i. [q] Apol. adv. Gentes.

called continually by Homer, the Father of gods and men. Plato refers the creation to one Being, whom he calls the Father and Maker of the universe: and Aristotle and the Stoics usually mention God in the singular number. Seneca says, "As often as you please you may variously name the Author of things; there may be as many appellations of Him as He has offices and operations: our people fancy Him to be Bacchus, and Hercules, and Mercury; they call Him also Nature, Fate, Fortune: all these are but names of the same God, variously using his power[r]." These philosophers seem to waver between Theism and Polytheism; but though they deify the powers of Nature, and raise his creatures to be the companions of the Creator, the existence of one Supreme Being, which is all I contend for, seems to have been generally allowed.

The existence of the Deity involves a proper eternity, that is, that He never began and never will cease to be; for since He never depended upon another, He cannot be annihilated; as He cannot but love Himself as the best and chiefest good, He cannot give up his being. There is nothing in his nature that can introduce decay, there is nothing beyond that can control or affect one whose power and wisdom are infinite. The question which Zophar put to Job[s] carries with it its own proof; *Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?* The only notion we can form of this awful Being, however inadequate, is by ascribing to Him all perfection, and abstracting from Him all imperfection; for as the first cause He must not only include in Himself all the excellence He hath communicated, but every perfection possible in itself will be actually in Him[t]. Thus, when we say that He is a substance, having no proper denomination for his essence, we separate our idea of Him from matter, and conceive of Him as a pure and simple Spirit; when we attribute activity to Him, we view Him as an indefatigable agent, exempt from the labour, pains, and care which it occasions to other beings; and when we ascribe to Him knowledge, we must

[r] De Benef. iv. 7.

[s] Job xi. 7.

[t] Scott's Christian Life, ii. vol. i.

exclude the reasoning by which inferior intellects arrive at conclusions from his infinite mind, which intuitively beholds at once premises and conclusions, and all things and events, past, present, and future. Above all, we must be careful that no moral imperfection should connect itself with our conception of this all-perfect Being, and we must endeavour to comprehend his excellence, not in parts, but as a whole; for his attributes are, correctly speaking, though exerting themselves in different ways, and admitting accordingly of different names, but one simple principle of action, whose acts of wisdom are infinitely good, whose acts of goodness are infinitely wise. We have found it necessary to refer to general consent, and to the evidence afforded by ourselves and the world we live in, for the proof of the existence of the Deity; for to appeal to the Word of God would be of no avail to those who question his existence. We must first satisfy them, that *God is, and that He is a diligent rewarder of them that seek Him*[u]. Instead therefore of disparaging, as some are prone to do, the deductions of our unassisted reason, I would say with the pious philosopher Boyle, that natural religion is the stock upon which Christianity must be engrafted. But when it is conceded that He not only exists, but has made a revelation of his will, and that the Bible is that revelation, then we open that volume for a brighter manifestation of this glorious and gracious Being, whom reason can but dimly discern; and not only obtain more distinct views of the attributes which the light of nature discovers, but others also which more nearly concerns us, justice, holiness, mercy, which it can scarcely even conjecture.

These attributes divide into two classes. 1. Those peculiar to Him, as immutability and omnipresence; and, 2. those, such as wisdom and benevolence, which are in a degree communicable to man. We may then well act upon the striking prayer of the great author of the inductive philosophy; "Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more: I have sought Thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found Thee in thy temples."

[u] Heb. xi. 6.

The title of the Article shows, that its main object is to affirm the doctrine of the Trinity; and this explains why the statement of the Divine character is so incomplete; for, unlike the Helvetic Confession, which describes God as "merciful, just, and true," and that of Westminster, which more largely supplies the deficiency, it names no other moral attribute than goodness; yet holiness is one that the Deity continually claims for Himself, and the atonement was required to preserve his justice unimpaired, that He *might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus*[x]. Like many other of our Articles, it closely resembles that in the Confession of Augsburg, but it omits the explanation of the term Person, which might have put an end to some verbal disputation, and the condemnation of the heretics that deny the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

It affirms, *that there is one true and living God*, one as opposed to many, true as opposed to false ones; living as opposed to idols, the work of men's hands, *who have mouths but speak not*[y]; and not only Himself living, but the Author of life, *in whom all live*[z].

Without body. Bodies are visible, and may be touched, but the invisible Deity is imperceptible; and He must be distinct from matter, which is not Himself, nor an emanation from Him, but his work; for if he were material and omnipresent, there could be no motion, and He must be liable to change, a supposition inconsistent with his necessary and immutable existence; and to suffering, incompatible both with his power and happiness. If material, He would be limited as to place, and affected by external causes. Whatever arguments are advanced against the materiality of the human soul, applies more forcibly against that of the Deity. God, says He, who alone perfectly knows Him, and came forth from Him, is *a Spirit;* and the wisest of the Heathen were led by their reasoning to this truth. "God," says Plutarch, "is an abstract Being, pure from all matter, and distinguished from whatever is capable of suffering:" and according to Cicero, we can only conceive of Him as "of a pure mind entirely free from mortal mixture."

[x] Rom. iii. 26. [y] Ps. cxv. 5. [z] Acts xvii. 28.

Without parts, the necessary consequence of his immateriality. *Without passions,* which would be incompatible with his perfection. Both parts and passions, however, are continually ascribed to God in the Bible, but this arises from the necessary imperfection of language. Words, from the nature of the case, primarily denote objects which fall under the cognizance of the senses, and the operations effected by them or on them. When we wish to speak of our mind and our reasonings, and feelings, and of God, and of the spiritual world, we can only make ourselves intelligible, while we are in the body, by transferring the words in a figure from matter. Thus, *eyes in every place beholding the evil and the good*[a], represent God's omniscience and providence; and a *mighty*[b] *hand and a stretched out arm*[c], are such significant symbols of irresistible power, that they do not mislead the least cultivated understanding. All perceive that they are used in accommodation to our capacity, especially as it is declared in other passages of Scripture, that *God is a Spirit*[d], whom *no man hath seen or can see*[e]; and Moses[f] emphatically reminded the Israelites, that they had seen no similitude of the Lord, to whom nothing in heaven or earth can be likened, when He spake unto them out of the midst of the fire. So also of the passions, when the Bible ascribes to Him anger and repentance, they are to be understood not to indicate such perturbations as are incompatible with his perfection, but to mark out in a manner intelligible to us, the conduct which in man would be the result of these passions. To prevent the taking such phrases in a literal sense, there are contradictory texts. Thus, *the Lord repented that He had made man*[g], is corrected by, *God is not a son of man that He should repent*[h]*: I am the Lord, I change not*[i]*:* and, *with God there is no variableness or shadow of turning*[k]. When we say that God is without passions, we must beware of falling into the error of heathen philosophers, who universally maintained, that the gods neither will or can hurt any one, as what is

[a] Prov. xiv. 3. [b] Exodus xxii. 11. [c] Deut. iv. 34. [d] John iv. 24.
[e] 1 Tim. vi. 16. [f] Deut. iv. 12. [g] Gen. vi. 6. [h] Numb. xxiii. 19.
[i] Mal. iii. 6. [k] James i. 17.

capable of hurting is capable of being hurt. Thus Tully in the Offices[1], speaking of the oath of Regulus, considers that it ought to have been kept out of respect to justice and fidelity, but not out of fear or anger of the gods, for there is no such thing. This pernicious error, which destroys the moral character of the Deity, led Lactantius to write on the wrath of God, and drove him into the opposite extreme, so difficult is it to preserve the mean on such topics. We should always recollect, that it is metaphorically, and as it were by anthropopathy, that anger and its contrary are predicated of the immutable Divinity; for there are no sudden and violent perturbations in Him, as in man, rising and falling as occasion serves, but fixed, tranquil, and eternal inclinations of the will, according to the different nature of things, either contrary or agreeable to it. There are in man some habitual and perpetual affections, as love and hatred; much more hath the eternal will of God eternal affections, while it moves itself to objects without alteration, impression, or passion; so God hates evil and loves good, both in the abstract and universal idea, and also in the concrete or particular, as far as it agrees with the general. The Latin term *Impassibilis*, translated *without passions*, is to be taken also passively, meaning that God is not acted upon, is not capable of sustaining pain or injury. Those who confound the Persons of the Father and the Son are called Patripassionists, because they make the Father to suffer; and when we speak of the Son's sufferings, we must restrict them to his human nature.

Of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, means what the etymology of the epithet teaches, that we can set no limits to these attributes. The arguments that prove the existence of God, prove these qualities, which are inherent in his nature; and the Scriptures, especially Job and the Prophets, who delight in contrasting his majesty with the vanities and abominations of the Heathen, as they justly called their Gods, abound in magnificent declarations of his power, wisdom, and goodness. But from Omnipotence we must exclude the power of doing what would imply a physical or

[1] De Offic. iii. 28.

moral contradiction. Even God cannot recall the past, or cause a thing to be in more places than one at the same time. He cannot lie, make wrong right, or falsehood truth. Creation and Providence proclaim to all, who do not wilfully shut their eyes that they may not see, the wisdom and goodness of God: and our perception of these will ever become more distinct and influential, in proportion as we study his works and his ways. Goodness is a comprehensive term, including many particulars. "The inexhaustible fountain of Divine beneficence, as it terminates upon different objects, is distinguished by different names. When it confers happiness without merit, it is grace; when against merit, it is mercy; when conferred according to promise, it is truth; when it commiserates the distressed, it is pity; when it supplies the indigent, bounty; when it succours the innocent, righteousness; when it pardons the penitent, forgiveness; when it bears with the criminal, patience or long-suffering[m]."

This wise, and benevolent, and mighty Being is declared to be *the Maker and Preserver of all things.* Creation, in the proper meaning of the term, that is, to use Scripture language, the making of *things seen out of things that do not appear*[n], was a stumblingblock to the ancient philosophers. That nothing could proceed from nothing, was with them an established maxim; and they therefore, probably without exception, fell into one of two errors, derogatory from the honour of God. They either maintained, that matter was eternal, not made, only brought into shape and form by God, who like a workman does not make, but uses materials existing; the former being, according to Cicero[o], an absurdity, that had never been affirmed by any philosopher who had studied nature; or that the world itself was an animated being, "whose body nature is, and God the soul," as it is expressed by our poet, who thus advocates, we hope unknowingly, Pantheism, or the Deification of all things; which though in his beautiful Essay on Man, and in many ancient writings bearing the semblance of a sublime Deism, is no better than Atheism. "Jupiter est quodcunque vides quocumque moveris," is the sentiment which the Stoic Lucan

[m] Charnock on the Attributes of God. [n] Heb. xi. 3. [o] Timæo.

puts into the mouth of Cato; and it is revealed to Eneas by the shade of his father; but the inward spirit of Virgil, which feeds the heaven and earth, the moon and stars, and the mind that agitates the mass, differs but in name from the secret unknown power of the atheist Lucretius. According to this scheme, the soul of man is no better than that of the brutes, not created, but emanating from the soul of the world, being therefore a particle of Divinity detached from it to be united to a body, and to be absorbed into it at death but without consciousness; just as the contents of a bottle floating on the sea, on its fracture mix again with the waves. Such an immortality is but nominal; but the Bible teaches us, that God breathed into man the breath of life; and that after death it will again animate the body, and ever retain an independent existence either in happiness or misery.

It is a melancholy reflection, that Buddhaism, the religion of Ceylon and Tartary, and professed by a large proportion of the Chinese, which reckons more adherents than its successful rival Brahminism or Mahometanism, is no better than Atheism, under a specious disguise. How much more melancholy, that Pantheism, which is in spirit the same, should have fascinated so many of the philosophical literati of Germany, and that such visible darkness should be preferred by men, who boast of their intellect, as superior to the bright and warming beams of evangelical light. One cannot but fear that these vain writers, who, while they are the slaves of their own imagination, despise the truth which would guide them into peace, and usefulness, and sobriety of judgment, must have been given over to a reprobate mind.

This Pantheism was generally received among the Pagan philosophers; and Lactantius justly says, that under the name of Nature they comprehended things entirely different from one another; God and the world, the workman and his workmanship; and say that the one can do nothing without the other; as if nature were God and the world mixed together; for sometimes they so confounded them, as to make God to be the soul of the world, and the world to be his body. This gave occasion to those extravagant flights

of the Stoics, as being themselves a portion of the Deity; and even after Christianity had shed its light upon this thick darkness, the philosophers abused this doctrine to the justification of Polytheism, as worshipping the several parts of the world, not as being themselves so many gods, but as making up one God in the whole, which yet might be worshipped in its several parts. That vaunting sage Marcus Antoninus[p], who despised the Christians, actually addresses prayer to the world; and so much was the heathen possessed with the notion, that Strabo supposes, because the Jews had no images, and in prayer lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, that Moses affirmed the universe which contains us all to be God. (xvi.) Galen, however, a much later writer, knew better, for he acknowledges, that the opinion of Moses, who ascribed the production of all things to God, is far more agreeable to reason than that of Epicurus, who attributed it to a fortuitous concussion of atoms; yet even he asserts the preexistence of matter, and that the power of God could not extend itself beyond the capacity of matter which it wrought upon.

The Bible opens with a declaration, that *in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth;* and the peasant who reads and believes this, is wiser than all the sages of antiquity. The fact is repeatedly announced or implied in the sacred volume, and is urged as an argument against idolatry, as a ground of confidence, and as a reason for prayer and adoration; for He who is our Maker can dispose of what He has made as seemeth Him best. Thus, *Tell it out among the heathen that Jehovah is King, and that it is He who hath made the round world so fast that it cannot be moved*[q]. *For among the gods who is like unto Thee, O Lord, neither are there any works like unto Thy works. Happy is he, whose hope is in the Lord his God, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that therein is*[r]. *The sea is His, and He made it, and His hands formed the dry land. O come, let us bow down, and worship*[s].

[p] iv. 23. On Pantheism and the whole of the religion of the Greeks and Romans; much valuable instruction may be found in Dr. Leland's Advantage and Necesssity of the Christian Revelation.

[q] Ps. xcvi. 10. [r] Ps. xxviii. 8. [s] Ps. xcv. 5.

The Gnostic heretics, however, were deeply imbued with the oriental notion of the inherent evil of matter, and therefore independently of the objection of the philosophers to a proper creation, they could not reconcile with their prepossessions the idea of its even being brought into form by a benevolent Being. Their various sects differed among themselves as to the agent, some ascribing the creation to an æon, or emanation of God, of higher or lower rank, and others even to the evil principle, whom they acknowledged as an independent self-existing being. This system, which has obtained much celebrity under the name of Manicheism, was borrowed by Manes from the Persian Theology, which thus endeavoured to account for the origin of evil, and vindicated the *goodness* of God at the expense of His *power;* but God Himself long before, in refutation of this error, had said by the mouth of Isaiah to Cyrus, the future sovereign of that country, *I am the Lord, and there is none else: I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things*[t]. It was expedient, therefore, since even some who professed themselves Christians denied this tenet, to make it an Article of the Creed; and that nothing might be excluded, the words "all things visible and invisible" are added in that of Nice. Moses in his description of the creation, does not mention the angels, but the Psalmist calls them the *ministers* of Jehovah, *that do his pleasure*[u]. St. Paul expressly declares[x], that by Christ (without whom we know from St. John[y], *that not a single thing was made*) *were all things created, visible and invisible, thrones and dominions, principalities and powers.* And the opening of the epistle to the Hebrews contrasts the dignity of the Son with the inferiority of angels as creatures. The preservation of all things naturally follows their creation, and is a prominent doctrine of the Scriptures. Thus in the passages just cited, it is added, *by Him all things consist;* and, *upholding all things by the word of his power.* Still there are many who while they allow a *general* reject a *particular* Providence; yet how can it be inculcated in stronger terms than by our Lord, *not a*[z] *sparrow falleth to the ground without your Father:*

[t] Isa. xlv. 6. [u] Psalm ciii. 21. [x] Col. i. 16. [y] John i. 3. [z] Matt. x. 29—31.

ye are of more value than many sparrows: even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Reason teaches, that what God hath brought out of nothing, can only be preserved in existence by the same Omnipotence that produced it; and it is impossible to conceive how the care of the whole is compatible with overlooking the individuals of which that whole consists; or how the greater events of our lives can have been directed by Providence, if it extends not to those apparent trifles which often originate the former. The notion that such a minute superintendence is beneath the dignity of God, only betrays the contracted mind of him who makes the observation. Perfect goodness will care for whatever it creates; omnipotence will not find the government of the universe and of all that it contains difficult or oppressive.

How powerfully the speculations of philosophers on this subject have been influenced by prejudices suggested by the analogy of human nature, appears from various passages, in Pagan and even Christian authors. In the Treatise concerning the world ascribed to Aristotle, but written according to Dr. Parr after the Christian æra, we read, that "if it were not suitable to the majesty of Xerxes, the great king, to condescend to do the meanest offices himself, much less can this be imagined in respect of God." Pliny[a], who seems to have been acquainted with the whole of Greek philosophy, regards the notion of the Supreme Being interfering in human affairs as ridiculous, considering that He would be polluted by so sad and so diversified an office: and Minucius Felix introduces a Roman lawyer Cæcilius as a type of the educated heathen of his day, urging as an objection against Christians, that their God, whom they could neither hear nor see, inspects not only their actions and words, but even their thoughts; and that He is impertinently curious and busy, since He interests Himself in all things, whereas He cannot attend to every particular while employed about the whole, nor take care of the whole while busied about particulars. Simplicius, a commentator upon Aristotle, more wisely observes,

[a] Hist. Nat. ii. 7.

that it cannot be beneath the dignity of the Deity to take care of whatever he has condescended to make: and Plato[b], in his Laws, says expressly, that providence extends to small things as well as to great; justly remarking that He who sees and knows all things, cannot be subject to negligence or sloth, and that great things cannot be rightly taken care of if small ones are neglected. He adds, that the more perfect an artist becomes, the more will his skill be shewn in both: and let us consider the Deity as not inferior to mortal artists. The notions of the Epicureans concerning the happiness of the Deity, which they thought could not fail to be impaired by the incessant cares and unremitted exertions of a superintending Providence, plainly took their rise from the same source. Plutarch blames Plato for his view of the Providence of God, making him thereby a wretched being subjecting himself like a workman or a mechanic to heavy burdens, and anxious cares in the composition and government of the world[c]. A wiser philosophy teaches, that the conservation as well as the creation of things is his delight. Every active intellect even among us knows and feels that it is a high enjoyment to exert its intelligent capacity, it is the misery not happiness of a thinking being to have nothing to do. We may therefore be satisfied, that the Divine Mind, possessing such energies of omnipotence, and having exerted them so multifariously as the universe with its hosts of beings testify to us that He has done, can never be inactive. Every individual of the human race has been always living under the unceasing superintendence and control of his Creator; and let it be our ever comforting recollection, that we are all partaking of that care, which only becomes general because applied to every one of us[d]." Judging from ourselves, we are apt to think this minute superintendence if not impossible, wearisome and intolerable; and the notion gave birth to Materialism, to the mechanical theories proposed by Descartes and Leibnitz, and to various other schemes equally gratuitous. According to the first, the phænomena of nature are the result of certain active powers essentially inherent in matter, and the language of

[b] v. x. [c] Plauta i. 7. [d] Turner's Sacred History, vol. ii. p. 72.

the Newtonian Philosophy is somewhat apt to encourage in superficial thinkers, prejudices which lead to Materialism; but it must not be forgotten, that Sir Isaac himself employed the words attraction and gravitation, merely to express a fact; and that he was at pains to guard his readers against that very misapprehension of his meaning, which has been so often imputed to his Philosophy. According to Derham, it hath pleased the Author of all things to imprint by his fiat certain active powers on matter on its creation; while Cudworth supposes a plastic or formative nature, which he defines as "a vital and spiritual, but unintelligent and necessary agent created by the Deity for the execution of his purposes." Dissatisfied with these theories, others have revived the ancient hypothesis of mind, and supposed every elementary particle of matter to be endued, not only with a power of motion, but with intelligence. Even the devout Boyle observes, "that as it more recommends the skill of an engineer to contrive an elaborate engine, so that there need nothing to reach his ends in it, but the contrivance of parts void of understanding, that if it were necessary ever and anon a discreet servant should be employed to concur notably to the operations of this or that part; so it more sets off the wisdom of God in the fabric of the universe, that He can make so vast a machine perform all these many things which He designed it should, by the mere contrivance of brute matter managed by certain laws of motion, and upheld it by his ordinary and general concourse, than if he employed from time to time a diligent overseer to regulate and control the motions of the parts." "And this argument," says Lord Kames, "is to me perfectly conclusive." Dugald Stewart prefers the simple and sublime doctrine, which conceives the order of the universe to be not only at first established, but every moment maintained by the incessant agency of one Supreme Mind; a doctrine against which no objection can be stated, but what is founded on prejudices resulting from our own imperfections; and he quotes from Clarke. "All things that are done in the world are done either immediately by God Himself, or by created intelligent beings. Matter is evidently incapable of any laws or powers, so

that all the things which we commonly say are the effects of the natural powers of matter and laws of motion, are indeed (if we speak strictly and properly) the effects of God's acting upon matter, *continually and every moment*, either immediately or mediately, so that there is no such thing as what we commonly call the course of nature." This appears to be most consonant to Scripture, and is a position which broadly stated no one, I presume, will deny. But how this is effected is a great question. The common sense view takes it literally, and here I believe common sense and genuine philosophy will coincide. But if the Deity be allowed not only to preserve, but to govern his whole creation, moral and rational beings as well as the material world and brutes, it matters little whether we suppose He effects it immediately or by general laws, having before provided for such exceptions from them as He foreknew would be required. The great question is, whether his Providence be general or particular. Certainly, the latter is strongly expressed in Scripture, and confirmed I conceive by reason; for how can the whole be taken care of, and not the parts of which that whole consists? nay, that whole itself is only a philosophical abstraction; individuals alone having a real existence. One use of the Bible, consisting in great part of a narrative of events, is to teach from authority the doctrine of a particular Providence. We cannot doubt this in the life of Joseph, and we are not to suppose that his history is an exception from the general rule. The only difference is, that the Jewish annals apprise us of God's designs, and hence we conjecture the same in profane history. It may be beyond our capacity in all cases to write confidently, but it is plain that many events, such as the dispersing of the Spanish Armada, and the discovery of the Gunpowder plot, were providential. I specify the history of Joseph, because he lived before the descendants of Abraham had been placed under their peculiar economy: and it has had its counterpart in the history of slaves in modern Egypt, who have risen to be its masters.

I have also selected it, because, extraordinary as it is, it is not miraculous; and the wonderful concatenation of events

to produce some great and unexpected result, has been acknowledged even by those who had no belief in a first cause. Thus Pliny remarks, that the most trifling facts have led to the greatest consequences, mentioning as an instance, that it was not the Roman battles, but Cato's showing African figs to the senate, that occasioned the destruction of Carthage; and thoughtful individuals, however insignificant they may comparatively be, who meditate on the occurrences of their own lives, must acknowledge, that an apparent accident, such as turning down one street instead of another, has been the first of a train of circumstances which have given a colour to their future existence. The conclusion of the whole matter will be found to be, that we must see God in all things or in nothing; for else, while we talk of his Providence, we shall, as too many do, banish from his own creation Him "*in whom we live and move and have our being.*" The doctrine is unpopular, because it is thought to be incompatible to the free agency of men. This I believe can be shown to be an error, though I do not deny the plausibility of the objection; but we must submit to be ignorant in this as in other high points of theology. The believer in a particular Providence may be said to be liable to become superstitious or enthusiastic; he who denies it, is exposed to the more serious danger of becoming a practical atheist. It is clear that the reasonableness of prayer depends upon this doctrine; for unless we believe that God can be moved to grant our petitions, they will not extend beyond general terms, and whatever is not specific will be cold, and what is cold will be ineffectual.

Dr. Price, an author whom none will charge with enthusiasm or superstition, refers us to the religion of nature, as showing how it may be consistent with the laws imposed upon matter and the liberty of man, by secret influences and by other ways, so to direct all occurrences, that nothing unsuitable to any case shall come to pass. And he adds, that it is self-evident, that if there be one event of which all the care is not taken that is right to be taken, the administration of the world is so far defective. It follows therefore, that no one who believes a perfect Deity can

deny a Providence, or doubt if it be particular. Towards the close of his Dissertation, he observes, that the sovereign Arbiter of nature is in every breath we draw, and in every thought we think, and for the very reason that He is every thing to us, he becomes nothing to us. His power is really put forth as much in common as in extraordinary events: but what happens out of the usual course we are never backward to ascribe to Him, what is done constantly we are readier to consider as coming to pass of itself. My limits will not permit me to insert the pious conclusions he draws from this consolatory and cheering doctrine; but I cannot resist adding, that he regards the account which the Scriptures give of Divine Providence as an argument for their heavenly origin, considering the whole history they contain to be one uniform display of the divine superintendence of human affairs. It is, he continues, a remark as true as common, that whereas other histories seldom go higher than the passions of men for the sources of events, this always directs us to God as the guide and governor of whatever happens[e]. And the Bible allowed to be God's word, it furnishes in turn an argument for Providence, especially in its numerous prophecies; and as several, such as the destruction of Babylon, and of the dispersion of the Jews, are universally agreed to have been accomplished, we must allow them to have been dictated by the Author of Nature, who can employ moral agents without their knowledge in the fulfilment of his purposes, as the scourges or deliverers of nations[f].

"When we peruse the instructive page of history, we behold empires successively rising and falling, and we adore the Providence of Him *who ruleth in the kingdoms of men; and putteth down one and setteth up another, ordering all things according to the counsel of his own will.* From the sacred Scriptures we learn what that will is, and how gracious an aspect it always bears towards the servants of God. We see the most untractable of persons unconsciously working together for good to them who fear and worship the Creator and Governor

[e] Isaiah xiv. 7. Amos iii. 6. Psalm cxlviii. Prov. xvi. 33.

[f] Dissertation on Providence, p. 14—17. 171. &c.

of the universe. We perceive the potentates of the earth becoming subservient to the kingdom of the Messiah, and carrying on the dispensations of mercy and judgment towards his people, as their obedience from time to time leads for the one, or their transgressions call for the other. The fate of empires being interwoven with that of religion, it pleased God to communicate to his servants, the prophets, the secrets of his administration with regard to them. And having done so in these cases, He thereby showeth us how He acts in others, and enables us to form a competent idea of our own situation and circumstances. It is therefore no less curious than useful in reading history, to mark the dispositions and characters of nations, and of the men who are the instruments working under the direction of Providence, for the fulfilment of its designs, without any infringement of their free will[g].

Divine Providence is a theme upon which a devout mind, accustomed to trace up causes and events to the great first cause, will delight to dwell; but my limits forbid my expatiating upon a doctrine so full of comfort, as I must proceed to those that are more prominently brought forward in these Articles. I will therefore dismiss the topic with a fine passage from Bacon, in which the highest philosophy is expressed in the language of poetry. "It is an assured truth and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy may incline the mind to atheism, but a further proceeding therein doth bring it back again to religion; for in the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes, which are next to the senses, do offer themselves to the mind, if it stay there, it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man passeth on further, and seeth the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, then according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe, that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the feet of Jupiter's chair." The self-existence and the governing power of the Supreme Being is at once expressed in the Bible in the title so often repeated, but I fear too seldom duly weighed, Jehovah

[g] Bishop Horne's Discourses, xxxiii.

Sabaoth. The Septuagint translator renders the first Ὁ Ὤν, the one who exists [that is, preeminently]; and this St. John, deeming it an inadequate rendering translates, ὁ ὢν καὶ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, meaning in the language of another inspired writer, *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* He is also the God of Sabaoth, that is, of hosts or armies, not merely of heavenly spirits, but of all his creatures marshalled or arranged in order, and all but man, knowingly or by instinct, fulfilling his behests.

Thus far, that is in the acknowledgment of one supreme Creator and Governor of the world, the Deist will go along with us. But this is a most imperfect view of the Divine Being, for in his Unity there is a Trinity of Persons. We allow that Revelation alone makes known to us the existence and offices of the Son and the Holy Spirit; yet this we consider as no presumption against the doctrine, for a moment's reflection must convince us, that we who know nothing of the essences of things, and do not comprehend even our own compound nature, while we cannot deny its existence, have no right to declare this doctrine to be impossible; and our incompetence to discern it is a reason why God should please to declare it, if we at the same time bear in mind, that it is not, as unbelievers misrepresent or misconceive, a mere speculative knowledge for the information of the understanding, but is one designed to promote our moral improvement. Whoever attentively reads the Bible will allow, that the object of it is the revelation of truth in order to influence the conduct. It was necessary that we should be informed of our fallen state, and of the plan of our recovery from sin and punishment: but how could this have been made known to us, or the obligations that flow from it, without a revelation of the Trinity? Remove this doctrine, and how does Christianity differ from Deism? It would only differ by the attestation of the resurrection of Jesus to a state of future rewards and punishments; and the system of the modern Unitarian seems to be nothing more. Christianity is a manifestation of the Three Divine Persons, as engaged in the great work of man's redemption, in their several relations of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,

Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. If there be no Son of God, where is our redemption; if there be no Holy Spirit, where is our sanctification; and without both, where is salvation? The dereliction of this faith then would leave us under the guilt of our sins and the curse of the Law. The opposers of this doctrine in modern times have assumed the appellation of Unitarians, as if the Trinitarians denied the Unity of the Supreme Being; but this we maintain as strongly as themselves. Reason teaches us this fundamental truth, which is proclaimed in every part of the Bible. The law of Moses, which separated the Jews from the worship of the gods of the nations, asserts the unity in the plainest terms. Our Saviour adopted this unity as the principle of the first and great commandment; and an Apostle announces[h], that *there is one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all.* There cannot therefore be three Gods, but there must be a sense in which these three Persons are one God. Our opponents seem to think that the doctrine is formed in an arbitrary and presumptuous manner, by going beyond what is revealed: but we in fact proceed as we should do in solving any phænomenon of nature. Many texts at first sight seem contradictory: some supposition is to be formed which shall make them consistent, and the supposition which answers this end is to be received as truth. Class all the expressions in Scripture relating to the Deity according to the catholic doctrine, and they are interpreted in the most natural manner, according to the soundest principles of grammar and criticism, so as they would be interpreted separately, taking each text with its context, if no particular end were in view. The force of this induction has been felt in all ages. The earliest Christian writers, who paid the same honours to the Son and to the Holy Ghost as to the Father, declared their abhorrence of Polytheism, and considered themselves as worshippers of the one true God.

The Divinity of the Father is questioned by no one; I have to treat on that of the Son and of the Spirit in the following Articles; I have only at present then to consider

[h] Eph. iv. 6.

the scriptural manner of putting them together. Dr. Clarke has forty-eight texts, in which the three Persons are mentioned together, and it appears that precedence is sometimes given to the Son, or to the Spirit, as the occasion may require. Of these the form of baptism is the most decisive, for it is the solemn act of worship by which converts were to renounce their false gods, and to be initiated into the true faith. They could not therefore fail to believe that Christ designed to teach them, that each of these persons was God; and it is worthy of notice, that he uses not names but name; the meaning of which seems to be, that they are to be admitted into a religion, of which the Trinity should be the characteristic doctrine. Since we are baptized *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, we acknowledge that "their Godhead is all one, their glory equal, their majesty co-eternal," for it cannot be supposed that God would suffer two creatures to be joined with Him in so solemn an act, nor would the meek and lowly Jesus, if he had been no more than a man, have joined his own name so familiarly to that of his Lord and Maker in so solemn a commission. As it was given as the form by which the apostles should baptize, it was undoubtedly intended as the summary of the doctrine which they should preach, and which their converts should profess. In answer to this it has been pleaded, that in the Acts we read of persons baptized only in the name of Jesus; but we maintain, that this Trinitarian formula is implied where[i] St. Paul asks the Ephesians, *Have ye received the Holy Ghost since you believed?* for when they answered, *We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost*, he immediately replies, *Unto what then were you baptized?* Their first baptism, that of John, he declares to be insufficient, by baptizing them again *in the name of the Lord Jesus.* We cannot suppose, that by omitting the name of the Holy Spirit in this new baptism, that great defect in their previous faith, which this very baptism was intended to remove, should be still permitted to remain. We may therefore conclude, that the entire form of baptism prescribed by our Lord was

[i] Acts xix. 2—5.

here observed, though it is only thus briefly noticed. In truth, if we were at this day speaking of the reception of a heathen into the Church, we should express it by saying he was baptized in the name of Christ, without thereby implying that the names of the Father and the Holy Ghost were omitted at the administration of this sacrament. The narrative of the devout Cornelius and his friends thus concludes, *While Peter yet spake, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word, and they spake with tongues, and magnified God.* Can it be supposed that in this baptism the name of that Holy Ghost should be omitted, whose gifts were at that instant poured out on the converts; or the name of the Father, whom the influence of that Spirit impelled them to magnify? It is obvious then, that to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus is merely an abridged formula, taken from its chief characteristic; for in the case of Cornelius and the Eunuch, they had already acknowledged the Father. And in the account of our Lord's own baptism, there was a manifestation to the senses of the three, the Holy Spirit visibly descending, the Son coming up from the water, and the Father who is not visible was yet distinctly heard, saying, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*[k]. The blessing with which our Morning and Evening Service concludes, being that of an inspired Apostle[l], is scarcely less decisive, for it cannot be a prayer to God, a man and attribute, as it must be on the Socinian hypothesis. Other passages may be cited, in which the three Persons are mentioned together.

Through Him (Christ) *we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father.* Eph. ii. 18.

The Lord (Holy Ghost) *direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ.* 2 Thess. iii. 5.

Christ through the eternal Spirit offered Himself to God. Heb. ix. 14.

Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father through the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. i. 2.

There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; there

[k] Matt. iii. 16. Luke iii. 21. [l] 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

are differences of administrations; but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God. 1 Cor. xii. 4—6.

Now God Himself, even our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you, and the Lord (the Holy Ghost) *make you to increase and abound in love one towards another.* 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12.

In the Old Testament, the references are less numerous and more obscure. I specify the plural noun for God, Elohim, in construction with the verb in the singular, and still more the consultation, *Let us make man*, which is not likely to have been said to Angels. Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the European use of the plural by kings, which has never been proved to have been customary in ancient times, and does not occur in the Bible.

I cite a passage from Isaiah, xlviii. 16. *I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was there am I: and now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me.* And I conclude with the triple benediction appointed for the priests, Numbers vi. 24—26. *The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make His face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.*

Divine teaching is ascribed to all the Persons of the Godhead.

John vi. 45. *They shall be all taught of God.*

Gal. i. 12. *Neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.*

John xiv. 26. *He* (the Holy Ghost) *shall teach you all things.*

The divine law is the law of the Trinity.

Rom. vii. 25. *The law of God.*

Gal. vi. 2. *The law of Christ.*

Rom. viii. 2. *The law of the Spirit of life.*

Sin is an offence against the Trinity.

Deut. vi. 16. *Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God.*

1 Cor. x. 9. *Neither let us tempt Christ.*

Acts v. 9. *Ye have agreed to tempt the Spirit of the Lord.*

The three Persons have fellowship with the faithful.

1 John i. 3. *Our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ.*

2 Cor. xiii. 14. *The fellowship of the Holy Ghost.*

And they are spiritually present in the souls of believers.

1 Cor. xiv. 25. *God is in you.*

2 Cor. xiii. 5. *Jesus Christ is in you.*

John xiv. 17. *He* (the Spirit of truth) *dwelleth with you and shall be in you.*

It is a frequent cavil, that the term Triad, or Trinity, was introduced into theology from the Platonic philosophy by Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the second century. But this is a frivolous objection, since if Scripture contains the doctrine, it is convenient to be able to express it not by a circumlocution, but by a single word. Hypostasis indeed, which our version renders *person*[m], is scriptural; but the remark applies to many other of these consecrated terms; and Triad must have soon become familiar, for it was used in the successive disputes about the doctrine by Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius, and is ridiculed by the heathen author of Philopatris[n]. Metaphysics were not called in to guard the faith, till heretics had shown the way, and forced the orthodox to encounter them with their own weapons. We find, according to Justin Martyr, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost not nominally, but really distinct. Yet the distinction was not marked by *person*, πρόσωπον, nor the union by ὑπόστασις, which soon acquired the meaning of *substance*. Sabellius took the former in its theatrical sense, and sheltered under it his heresy. After a lapse

[m] Heb. i. 3. *Express image of his person.*

[n] This tract, which is very interesting from its description of St. Paul, in which a resemblance to the Socrates of Aristophanes is insinuated, is published among the works of Lucian, but is now supposed to be of later date. To the question, By whom shall I swear? it is answered,

Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεὸν μέγαν, ἄμβροτον οὐρανίωνα,
Υἱὸν Πατρὸς, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
Ἓν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία.
Immortal, heavenly, great, wide-ruling God,
Son of the Father, Spirit from the Father proceeding,
One from three and three from one,
These regard as Jove, these take for God.

of centuries, this sophistry was revived in the Roman Church by Laurentius Valla, who applied it to the Latin *persona*, and by Servetus, who was burnt alive chiefly as an anti-Trinitarian at Geneva, 1553, whose death has in modern times drawn a veil over the memory of Calvin, though few of his contemporaries did not approve of his conduct on that occasion. The fanatic Servetus, writes Melancthon, plays upon the equivocal sense of this word, maintaining that anciently it signified no more than the distinction of an office; as speaking of an actor we say, Rescius supports the person, sometimes of Achilles, sometimes of Ulysses; and in like manner Cicero says, I sustain three persons [parts], that is, of myself, my opponent, and my judge. But, continues Melancthon, let us avoid and execrate these impious evasions, and let us know that the language of the Church is different, which defines a person to be an intelligent and incommunicable individual substance. It was thought necessary by the framers of the Augsburg Confession, of which he was the chief, to define person as used by ecclesiastical writers, to signify neither part nor quality, but that which has a proper subsistence. Sabellius's abuse of the term προσώπον, that is, person, induced the orthodox to substitute for it hypostasis, which it was determined in a Synod at Alexandria, where Athanasius presided, might be taken indifferently for person or substance, so long as they agreed in the common faith. Even homoousion, of the same substance, says Waterland, might have been spared, at least out of the Creed, had not a fraudulent abuse of good words endangered the Catholic faith under Catholic language.

A doctrine so clearly revealed in the holy Scriptures, cannot consistently be rejected by any who bow to their authority. Accordingly we find, that with the exception of a party exceedingly small, both in ancient and modern times, and which in our days is more distinguished by intellectual attainments than by piety, this doctrine, as Bishop Burnet observes, "has been universally received over the whole Christian Church, long before there was either a Christian Prince to support it by his authority, or a Council

to establish it by consent." In fact, he might have said, from the preaching of the Apostles. Heresies we know sprung up even in their time, but the disputes that harassed the primitive Church arose not from a denial of this great truth, but from injudicious endeavours to explain it. The nature of the Son and the Holy Spirit were the subjects in debate in the first four General Councils, but their divinity was then acknowledged by all. The modern Unitarians however assume, that the doctrine is contradictory, consequently incredible; they therefore maintain, that all the passages that seem to declare it are mistranslated or misinterpreted. This is not the place to enter upon a critical discussion of texts; but I will only state what no one, looking into the so called "new and improved version," published under their patronage, can doubt that it is so forced and unnatural, that it is more reasonable, allowing their assertion to be true, to deny the authority of the New Testament, than to question the received translation which believers and infidels allow to be correct. Their assertion, however, we do not allow; for it proceeds upon a fallacy. They say we confess that God is both three and one; we reply, that we use the words in two senses, three in *person* one in *essence;* the charge of contradiction therefore falls to the ground. It is a just remark, that there is an essential difference between a tenet being *above* reason, and *contrary to* it, and that it may be the former without being the latter. We may go a step further, and affirm, that the very fact of its being the former precludes the possibility of proving it to be the latter; for unless we comprehend in part the subject, on what principle can we make out that an opinion is contradictory? The truth is, we are completely lost, whenever we begin, in any view of it whatever, to think about the Divine Essence; yet we may easily conceive, that the Godhead is not like other beings even in its manner of subsistence. Created beings subsist singly, but it is the transcendent property of the Divine Nature to dwell in more persons than one, and these we learn from revelation are neither more nor less than three. The following is an attempt to illustrate this high and

mysterious doctrine. We feel in ourselves that every mind has its word and spirit, and cannot be conceived without them; it may therefore be presumed, that the eternal Mind has also its eternal Word and Spirit: in us they are the perishing creatures of the mind, which vanish as soon as they are produced; but in the eternal Mind they are permanent and subsisting, and can never be separated from it. Such essential processions are not only coeval and consubstantial with the nature from which they flow, but whatever distinction there is between them, they are one individual nature, since whatever is essential to a being, must be of the same nature with it. We are apt to run into a gross notion, that the Son and Holy Spirit are distinct in being, because we can only conceive from ourselves, of such distinctions by division and separation; but unity is the essential attribute of the divine nature, and therefore we use the word communication, and understand thereby that the Father from all eternity gave his divine nature to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, and yet continues to have it in Himself undiminished and unimpaired. If then the Father communicate his whole nature without division or separation to his Son, and the Father and the Son together, communicate the same whole nature to the Holy Ghost, they continue in the most perfect notion *one*, since there is one and the whole entire and perfect Divinity in the three.

As we all agree that we cannot comprehend the Divine nature, it might have been wiser to have left the doctrine of the Trinity in the same general terms in which we find it in Scripture, than to attempt to define it. This is a charge often brought, and more especially against the statement in the Athanasian Creed, in which the catholic doctrine is so clearly and briefly stated, that even Baxter, though a dissenter, accounts it the best explication of it he ever read. But, in truth, the fault is not in the orthodox but in the early heretics. The opposers of the faith first innovated in the language; the maintainers of it therefore were compelled to reply in terms opposite, and by propositions contrary to theirs. If the former invent explications and distinctions, the latter must obviate and answer them. The definition in our Article, Three

Persons of one substance, power, and eternity; according with the language of the ancient Church, μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑπόστασεις, is not open to a reasonable objection.

It is difficult to attempt to reconcile the Unity and Trinity, without either "confounding the persons or dividing the substance." There are four schemes, the Sabellian, the Catholic, the Arian, and the Socinian. The first is perfectly clear of any imputation of the last: the Catholic is only apparently: the others really, so chargeable. We do not with the Marcionites maintain, that there are three absolute, original, co-ordinate Divinities: we do not separate the Persons, with the Arians; we hold not a specific Unity, but we acknowledge with the holy Scriptures one Head and Fountain of the Divine Persons being one in nature; never separated, never asunder, distinct without division; united without confusion. The first scheme, that of Sabellius, originated in the second century with Praxeas, and was supported in the middle of the third by him, from whom it has received its name, though perhaps with some modifications. According to this system, God is one Person, who, as he is considered as performing the office of Creator, Redeemer, or Sanctifier, assumes the name of Father, Son, or Holy Ghost. Sabellianism preserves in the most perfect manner the divine Unity: it is specious, and appears at first to solve all difficulties. The *ordinary* use of the word persona in Latin, is also favourable to this hypothesis; but the very completeness of the solution is the strongest objection; for if by person no more is meant than an official distinction, and this could have been shown, the question would have been settled, as soon as the explanation had been discovered, and the doctrine would have been mysterious only on the first view. The most cursory examination will show that Sabellianism is not tenable. Why upon any other than the orthodox scheme should this distinction be made: if only a nominal one, it is calculated to mislead, by confounding our ideas in representing the Deity under opposite relations which cannot meet in the same person; for a father cannot be father to himself, a son be his own son, or a spirit proceed from itself. The remark applies equally

to their offices; for how can we conceive the Saviour speaking of the Holy Spirit which he will send, or of his own intercession with his Father, without admitting of more than a nominal distinction?

The opposite error to this is Tritheism, which has been unjustly charged upon the Athanasian or orthodox scheme. Still the history of our own Church has shown how difficult it is in combating one error to avoid its opposite. The Sabellian scheme is really Unitarianism, under the disguise of orthodox phrases, and will be accepted by none who can discriminate between a trinity of persons, and one merely of names and offices. The opposite error, the doctrine of three distinct infinite Minds constituting one Deity, is in reality tritheism, or the belief in three gods; and so difficult is it to expound the Catholic scheme, that its supporters, unless remarkably cautious, are charged with maintaining one of these opposite opinions. In our own country, the celebrated Defence of the Nicene Faith by Bull, against foreign authors of an Arian or Socinian tendency, had revived the trinitarian controversy. His object was to take an historical view of the doctrine; and upon an accurate investigation of the opinions of the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers, to establish a convincing argument, that what they maintained were Articles of the primitive faith, handed down from the Apostles, from which no important deviation could be reasonably supposed to have gained admittance into the church; and he entered no farther into metaphysical distinctions than the support of his argument required. Occasion was however given, however carefully he had maintained the Son's preexistence, consubstantiality with and subordination to the Father, to call the truth into question; and some, desirous of vindicating the established Creed, were induced to attempt explanations and illustrations of the doctrine itself, grounded upon hypothesis rather than proof, and hardly admitting of demonstrative evidence either from reason or from Scripture. In their anxiety to repel the charges of absurdity and contradiction, they were tempted to push their inquiries into the dark recesses of metaphysical speculation, where their opponents gladly

followed them, and where the main points at issue could never be decided by a victory on either side. Dr. Sherlock, father of the Bishop, engaged strenuously in this hazardous warfare, but his elaborate vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, drew upon him some very strong animadversions even from his friends Dr. Wallis and Dr. South, and his book was publicly censured and prohibited by the University of Oxford. They were in turn charged with Sabellianism; and such was the acrimony with which the controversy was conducted, that the authority of King William was at last exercised in restraining each party from introducing novel opinions respecting this mysterious article of faith, and requiring them to adhere to such explanations as had already received the sanction of the Church[o].

The language employed by some of the ancients in condemning Sabellianism, encouraged Arius to avoid every appearance of confounding the divine persons by a system of his own. He maintained that the Son was a creature who had had no existence till he was made by God out of nothing, and that the term begotten is applied to him, because he was made before all other creatures, to be the instrument employed in creating them. According to this view, the Father alone is God in the proper sense of the word, so that Arius might be more properly called Unitarian, or rather Socinian, for with Socinus he considered Christ as called God not from his nature, but on account of the offices in which He is employed; and he also inconsistently regarded Him as a proper object of worship. The Council of Nice, which was convened chiefly to condemn his opinion, knowing the sense in which he applied the words God and only-begotten Son of God to Christ, wished to frame a creed which could not be honestly repeated by his followers. Accordingly, they annexed a clause condemning those who maintained, that "there ever was a time when the Son was not; that He was made out of nothing, or of another substance οὐσία ἢ ὑπόστασις, or was a creature or changeable;" and added to the creed, that he was "real God of God, begotten not made, and of the *same* substance with the Father.

[o] Bishop Van Mildert's Life of Waterland, ch. iii.

The expressions, God of God, Light of Light, which appear in early creeds, though susceptible of an orthodox sense, and shown by Bishop Bull to have that meaning in the Ante-Nicene writings, were used by the Arians; but a letter was publicly read in the council, in which their patron Eusebius of Nicomedia, the friend and biographer of the Emperor Constantine, ingenuously confessed, that the admission of the word consubstantial, that is, of the *same* substance, was incompatible with their theological system. This word therefore, which cannot honestly be used by those who adopt any modification of Arianism, was introduced into the Creed; and, according to the expression of Ambrose[p], the Bishops used the sword which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off its hated head; and this essentially contributed to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of Faith. The Semi-Arians distinguished their doctrine by substituting "of a *like* nature," and, as Gibbon observes, "their word ὁμοιούσιον bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol ὁμοούσιον, that the profane of every age have derided the contest which the difference of a diphthong excited." But it is only the profane and the silly; for, as he himself continues, "it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other, may represent the most opposite ideas[q]."

The economy, as it is technically termed, is explained by Bull, so as to clear the early fathers from the imputation of Arianism, which had been strengthened, though it might be undesignedly, by the learned work of Petavius. Bull lays down three theses: 1. The Nicene declaration, that the Son is God of God, approved by the catholic doctors, both before and after that council; for they all with one consent have taught, that the Son hath the same nature as the Father, but hath it communicated from Him, who alone has it in Himself, and consequently is the fountain of the Divinity which is in the Son. 2. These divines have unanimously declared the Father to be greater than the Son, not by any essential perfection, but only by his paternity. 3. This doctrine the ancients thought necessary to be believed,

[p] De Fide, iii. [q] Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. xxi.

that the godhead of the Son might be so asserted, as that the unity of God and the divine monarchy might be preserved inviolate. Forasmuch as notwithstanding the name and nature are common to the two, yet because the first is the origin of the second, who is described as a stream from a spring, a ray from the sun, it follows that the Deity may be correctly said to be but one God. They also believed, that the same reason held as to the godhead of the Holy Ghost, and that neither were separate or separable from the Father. This as far as I can judge is the true view of the Trinity, and affords an orthodox interpretation of such texts as seem to express the superiority of the Father. It has not however been universally received; for Dr. Edwards[r] of Cambridge, while allowing that such was the doctrine of the fathers, even of Athanasius himself, who argued so powerfully for the consubstantiality and the natural equality of Father and Son, condemns their statement as the rise and ground of the dangerous error of the Son's inferiority to the Father; and infers that Pearson and Bull, with other modern divines, have lowered the doctrine of the Trinity by their deference to these writers; so that in consequence, Whiston and Clarke have laid hold of their concessions to make the Son a dependent being, not worthy to be styled God. In modern divinity this subordination has generally been disregarded: and Calvin[s] rejects the distinction, arguing that the Son must be God of Himself if he is to be God at all, because the notion of God supposes self-existence. I think, however, that it will appear on a candid examination, that these divines never so asserted subordination as to deny the supremacy of the Father: but on the contrary taught, that the notion of supremacy is necessarily included in that of paternity, and that there is one godhead in the three persons neither increased nor diminished, notwithstanding that diversity of dispensation and of order. It is subordination (as far as I can pretend to judge of so profound a mystery) which renders the Trinity consistent with Unity, and secures the truth from the two errors

[r] Animadversions on Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine.

[s] Institutes, b. i. ch. iii. 19.

against which we protest; nor need we fear that this is inconsistent with the declaration in the Athanasian Creed, for, according to that statement of the Trinity, "afore or after" relates to the duration and essential dignity, "greater or less" to co-equality in nature and perfections of the three persons. In the very name of father, says Bishop Pearson, there is something of eminence which is not in that of son, and some kind of priority we must ascribe to him whom we call the first, with reference to the second. The Father is the original cause of all things *through* the Son, but not as a mere instrument but as an efficient cause; according to St. Paul, *To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things*[t]. "The Son[u] has received by filial derivation an essence from the Father which is substantially divine, because it is the Father's. And God has selected these very appellations to shadow out to us the relation between the first and second persons in the godhead. They mark at once subordination and equality." "It is no diminution of the Son's glory to say he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it would be diminution from the Father's, to speak so of Him, and there must be preeminence where there is place for derogation." Such affirmations of the Son's inferiority, as, *I can of Myself do nothing;* and styling the Father *his God* even after his ascension[x]; and *Christ is God's*[y]*;* and *the head of Christ is God*[z]*;* probably refer to Him in his divine as well as in his human nature. A due attention to this subordination will solve the apparent inconsistency of certain passages. The 17th chapter of St. John's Gospel affords an instance. When Christ prays in the character of a man sent to teach, he speaks as if the Father were the only God, and he himself a man; but in circumstances which imply the expiration of his earthly office, he makes himself equal with God. Thus, *This is life eternal, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent:* but when he has said, *I have finished the work that Thou gavest Me to*

[t] 1 Cor. viii. 6. [u] Whittaker, Origin of Arianism. [x] Rev. iii. 5.
[y] 1 Cor. iii. 23. [z] 1 Cor. xi. 3.

do, then a new scene opens upon our view; the *man of sorrows* is considered as the *high priest who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens*, and if we realise this contrast, we shall rightly understand and feel what follows. *And now, O Father, glorify Me in thy own presence with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.*

The orthodox system is distinguished from Sabellianism by admitting three persons; *hypostases:* and here let it be remarked, that this word, the same in meaning as οὐσία, *substance*, in the earlier ecclesiastical writings, and even in the Nicene Creed, was afterwards taken in its present sense; and wrested from Arianism, by ascribing to the three persons *one substance*, μία οὐσία. Indeed the sameness of substance and perfect equality seem necessary to our idea of the Trinity. Accordingly the Athanasian Creed declares, "None is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another. The godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal." And if this was not true, how could it be called *one* godhead. Still though there is no inferiority, there is such a subordination as is implied in the Father's being Αὐτοθέος, *God in Himself*, that is, the source of Deity. The Son is called in the Nicene Creed, God of God, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, that is, God out of God. In one sense, therefore, he may, even with respect to his divine nature, say, *My Father is greater than me*, because He hath received that nature from Him; and in this way it is explained by Athanasius, and most of the fathers. This preeminence does not admit of any act, as it is called, of condescension, such as being sent; whereas there is a congruity in the Son's being employed to exert the perfections of the godhead, in the accomplishment of a particular purpose. The name of God therefore, taken absolutely, is usually ascribed to the Father, and He is frequently styled in Scripture, *the one God, the true God, the God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ;* language which those who do not understand the reason for it, catch at as favourable to the anti-trinitarian scheme. Thus

the primitive writers, though they often call the Son, and sometimes the Holy Ghost, God, yet when they make mention of the Father and of the Son together, generally call the first God, and the second either Lord, or God of God. In some passages, the Son, and sometimes the Spirit, are named first, yet where, as in the form of Baptism, this doctrine is delivered as the rule of faith, precedence is given to the Father. For the same reason, though we occasionally address our petitions to the Son, and even to the Holy Spirit, the Father is the principal object of adoration; but as in the Greek Church the proper divinity of the Son had been denied, he is more often addressed in their Liturgies, than in those of the west. A Council of Carthage ordered all prayers offered at the altar to be addressed to the Father only; because there we view the Son in the light of a victim, the *Lamb of God*, sacrificed for the sins of the world.

This fundamental doctrine has been retained till modern times in every branch of the church, even when the true notion of the way of salvation had been nearly lost throughout christendom. It it well then that one sunday in the year should be consecrated to the more special meditation on this mysterious but highly practical doctrine; and the season is well chosen, after we have celebrated the birth into this world of the incarnate Son of God, his death, resurrection, and ascension, and the descent of the third person, the Holy Spirit, on the believers, the result of his exaltation. And let us carefully remember, that the doctrine is revealed that we may honour as we ought the Three, by gratefully acknowledging our obligations to the first, for devising before the fall of man his recovery; to the second, for assuming our nature in order to accomplish the design; and to the third, for applying to us the benefit of this redemption; and ascribe to this holy, glorious, ever-blessed and adorable Trinity, in one undivided Godhead, all honour and glory, praise, worship, majesty, and dominion, for ever and ever. A mystery so deep the most powerful intellect would in vain attempt to fathom. The human eye cannot gaze with impunity upon the noon-day sun: it would be pre-

sumptuous, unprofitable, perhaps dangerous, for man who does not comprehend the nature of any thing, to speculate on the Divine essence. How that essence can exist in three persons, we shall study in vain to discover; but the fact of that existence has been revealed to us, not for the instruction of the intellect, but for the amelioration of the heart. It is a revelation which reconciles the divine attributes of holiness and benevolence, and renders the happiness of man compatible with the glory of his Maker, by showing that God can be *just* as well as merciful *in justifying the ungodly who believeth in Jesus.* A meditation on the stupendous act which redeemed our ruined race, and could only be accomplished by the cooperation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, must increase our reverence and gratitude to the Three, and promote our growth in humility, holiness, and love.

LECTURE II.

ARTICLE II.

OF THE WORD OR SON OF GOD, WHICH WAS MADE VERY MAN.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, [begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God,] and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men[a].

The threefold nature of the Divine Being having been established, we proceed to consider separately the persons of this ever-blessed Trinity. Concerning the Father there are no disputes, except as to his connection with the others. We pass on therefore to the second and the third; the Son, by whom the remedy offered in the Gospel was brought into the world, and the Spirit, by whom it is applied. The Revelation concerning the former is from the nature of the case, from his assuming flesh, and dwelling among us, more full than that concerning the latter, and has therefore given rise to a greater variety of opinions. After the disputes concerning the Trinity, the dogmas which were

[a] The Article is translated from the Augsburg Confession, with the exception of the passage in brackets, which was added in 1562, from that of Wurtemburg.

affirmed in respect to the Son first divided the Christian Church, and from its comprehensiveness the subject branched out into many subordinate ones; for the double nature of our Lord as God and Man being once admitted, curious, and we may add, presumptuous enquirers, aspiring to be wise above what is written, engaged in unsatisfactory metaphysical speculations, which led to disputes in which they lost their temper, without throwing any real light upon mysteries beyond the capability of our finite intellect to comprehend. Such discussions, which soon degenerate into logomachies, are eagerly caught at by infidels and sceptics, as means of turning both disputants and the points in dispute into ridicule, and their subtilties afford a popular topic of declamation; while the persecuting and unchristian spirit, which is too often generated, enables them to question the beneficial tendency of a religion which involves believers in endless and angry and bitter controversies. They argue, that it is inconceivable that a wise and benevolent Being should make our salvation dependent upon our knowledge of abstruse propositions, the truth or falsehood of which, even supposing our capability of ascertaining them, can have no effect upon our conduct. But in this statement there is a misconception arising from ignorance, if not an artful misrepresentation. In religion as in science there is a most important distinction between the assertion and proof of a fact, and the explanation of it. The divinity and humanity of our blessed Lord, and the union of them in his person, with all the consequences that flow from this union, is the sum and substance of our faith, the foundation of all our hopes for eternity. This the Scriptures abundantly reveal, and this is so essential, that I cannot conceive that those who deny it are entitled to the appellation of Christian. *Why* this union exists, we know from this authentic and sole source of divine knowledge; *how* it has been effected is of no importance to us; but the fact and the reason for it are so clearly revealed, that it is difficult to imagine that any who, abstracting themselves from prejudices will study the sacred volume, should not find them there written as with a sunbeam. The mode in which

this union exists, as it concerns us not to know, is not declared, and it would have been better that Christians had abstained from such enquiries; but, as in the article of the Trinity, it was the heretics who gave rise to these discussions, and forced the orthodox to confute, to explain, and to define, till one error being rejected after another, the whole truth was at length ascertained. There is some danger lest, from the representations of opponents, and the faults of the disputants, a prejudice should be excited against the doctrine itself: let us remember then, that the denial of Christ's divinity strips him of the offices, though we may still ascribe to him the names of Mediator, Saviour, and Intercessor; for what is Christianity but the scheme devised by the Father, and accomplished by the Son, to restore man to the divine favour, and this is achieved by his offering himself as a sacrifice for sin. Now his divinity is necessary to give an adequate value to his sacrifice; none of our guilty race, who requires each for himself atonement to be made, none of the created intelligences, though innocent, since their obedience is already due upon their own account, can satisfy the claims of God's holiness and justice. If Christ therefore were not the co-equal Son of the Father, he must have died in vain, and we should be still in the fallen state into which we were plunged by the transgression of our progenitors. Dr. Priestley maintains, that the value of the Gospel does not in any degree depend upon the idea which we may entertain concerning the person of Christ, because all that concerns us are the object and the authority of his mission. This language is inconsistent with the natural propensity, by which every one is led to connect the importance of a message with the dignity of the messenger; it is inconsistent also with the general sentiments of Christians who have canvassed the subject with diligence and interest; and inconsistent with the general strain of the New Testament, a great part of which is occupied with this subject.

The person of our Saviour and his history occupy three Articles, and the dogmas here only stated have given rise to innumerable works in which they are defended and opposed. The nature of my design prevents my entering into

long details; I shall therefore refer to errors and sects only, when it is required for the understanding of the Article: and our scriptural proofs must be left to speak for themselves, the meaning of several is disputed, for they are so decidedly in our favour, that they can only be got rid of by rejecting them as interpolations, or giving to them a new interpretation. This I have no hesitation in saying is a forced and unnatural one; but I have no time to examine them on the present occasion; it must be taken for granted, that they are to be understood in the plain and obvious sense which the Church has always attached to them.

The opinions respecting the nature of the Son of God, which have been in one age exploded, and in another revived, are reducible to these three systems. The simplest is the assertion, that Christ was a mere man, who had no existence before he was born into this world, and who was distinguished from the former messengers of heaven only by his superior virtue, and by the extraordinary powers with which he was endowed, upon account of the peculiar importance of his commission. For the performing of this he was rewarded by being raised from the dead, and exalted to the highest honour, being constituted on his resurrection, Lord of the creation, and entering upon a kingdom which is to continue to the end of the world; the administration of which entitles him to the reverence of the human race. Some of these consider him as a fit object of adoration, which others confine to the Father; but this difference, though great in practice, does not affect the general principle; for if he is adored by any of them, as he was by the original Socinians, it is on account not of his nature, but of the dominion given to him by the Father. The system rests on the general strain of the prophecies, in which Jesus is foretold as the seed of the woman, and the son of David; the general strain of the New Testament narrative, in which our Lord is spoken of as a man; and the manner in which the Scriptures represent his glory, as the recompense of his obedience unto death. The argument is supported by general reasonings concerning the fitness of employing a man, whose life is a pattern which

we may be supposed capable of imitating, and whose resurrection and exaltation furnish an encouragement suitable to the condition of those who encounter hardships and are exposed to temptations, the same in kind, though inferior in strength, to those which he overcame. And this argument is defended by attempts to explain away such passages as seem to contradict the system, and particularly by referring whatever is said of the glory of Christ to the power given to him upon earth of working miracles, and the state of exaltation which he since his ascension enjoys in heaven. Such is said to have been the doctrine of the Ebionites, a small and obscure sect of Jewish converts in the first century; but the scantiness of their canon of Scripture shows, that the general tenor of it was against them, for they received only the gospel of Matthew, and that with the rejection of the first two chapters. It originated with Theodotus at the end of the second century, but it never prevailed; a strong presumption against its truth; and seems to have been exploded by the Council of Nice; for we hear no more of it till it was revived by Socinus, and propagated by his followers in Poland.

The second system advances a step higher, by allowing the pre-existence of Christ, and his consequent superiority to men, and was first publicly taught by Arius, an Egyptian presbyter, whatever traces of it may be discovered in more ancient writers. According to his view, the one eternal God, the source of being and power, did in the beginning, before any thing was made, produce by his own will a perfect creature, through whom he made all things, so that he alone proceeded immediately from God; while all other creatures not only existed after him, but were called into being by his instrumentality, and placed under his administration. Having been the Creator of the first man, he was the medium of all divine communication with the human race. Thus it was he showed Himself to the patriarchs, who spake by the prophets; and in the fulness of time he was made man, and had a real body like his brethren; but that body was animated not by a human soul, but by this superangelical spirit. Arius maintained, that this first crea-

ture, upon account of his supereminent glory and power, might without impropriety be called the only-begotten Son of God, and even God; and he admitted that he was in one sense eternal, because his creation preceded those measures of time which arise from the motion and succession of created objects. According to this system, the Son, though endowed with all possible perfection, is only a creature, and there was a time when he was not. This system was so popular, that the Emperor Constantius favoured it, and its eminent opposer Athanasius, in his resistance to it, is said to have stood against the world. It even penetrated beyond the pale of the empire, for the missionaries among the barbarians were infected with this heresy; and of all their converted sovereigns, Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, was the first who was baptized into the orthodox faith, and was in consequence designated the eldest son of the Church, and the French sovereigns retained, till my time, the epithet of Most Christian King. The Athanasian or orthodox system, before the division of the empire, recovered possession of the church: and the secession of the Reformers from Rome has introduced no variation into this fundamental Article. Arianism was therefore merely a topic in ecclesiastical history, till revived in our own Church by Whiston, at Cambridge, in the seventeenth century, when it was confuted with learning and acuteness by Waterland, and maintained with some qualifications by the celebrated Dr. Clarke.

The third system is essentially distinguished from both, by maintaining the proper divinity of Christ; for we have seen that the term in a lower sense has been applied to him, both by Arians and Socinians. We affirm then the doctrine of the Church of England to be, that the second person of the Trinity, the coequal Son of God, of the same substance with the Father, assumed at the incarnation our complete nature, that is, that the body of Christ was animated by a human soul, and that this soul was so united with the godhead, that the two natures formed one person.

The proofs of the human nature are obvious, and are now allowed by all. Although Jesus upon some occasions

assumes the exalted title, Son of God, he generally calls himself by a name most significant of humanity, the son of Man. We read of the same Jesus, that he was wearied with his journey[b]; that he was hungry[c]; that he ate and drank, that he gave up the ghost, that he was buried, and that he rose from the grave. The inference thus clearly drawn from laying different texts together, is confirmed by an examination of those passages which present in one view his divine and human nature. I refer to three leading ones. The introduction to St. John's Gospel[d]: the recommendation to the Philippians of humility from the example of Christ in voluntarily emptying himself of his original glory; and that which assigns a reason to the Hebrews[f], why the captain of our salvation took part of flesh and blood, whence it appears that he was preexisting in a state in which he could make a choice. Had Christians been content to rest in this inference of the union of two natures, there could not have been much variety of opinion; but when they began to speculate concerning the manner of this union, they soon went far beyond the measure of information which the Scriptures afford. But the Gnostics could not bring themselves to believe in our Lord's humanity. As the inherent and incorrigible depravity of matter was the fundamental principle of their fanciful philosophy, they deemed it impossible that so exalted a spirit as the Christ could be truly and permanently united to a gross material substance. Some of them therefore supposed that Jesus, although made in the likeness of men, was not really a man: but that the body which the Jews saw, was either a phantom that deluded their senses, or if it had a real existence, was a spiritual substance, not formed of the same corruptible materials as our bodies, not standing in need of the food which it only *seemed* to receive, and incapable of the sufferings which it but *seemed* to endure. Other Gnostics, who found it difficult to reconcile the mere *phantom* of a body with the Gospel narrative, followed the scheme of Cerinthus, that Jesus was born like other

[b] John iv. 6. [c] Mark xi. 12. [d] John i. 14. [e] Phil. ii. 6, &c. [f] Heb. ii. 14.

men, and not distinguished from his countrymen, till he was thirty years of age, in any other way than by the innocence of his life. He held, that when he as man came to John to be baptized, that exalted Æon called the Christ descended upon him, and continued to inhabit his body during his ministry, and to direct his actions; but when he was delivered up, the Christ returned to that pleroma, i. e. the space inhabited by the spirits, who had emanated from the divine mind, and Jesus was left to suffer and to die. Apollinarius conceived, that the most natural way of explaining the incarnation of the Son of God, was to consider the godhead as supplying the place of the νοῦς, the rational soul; but to this theory we answer, that Christ was not truly a man, unless he assumed the soul as well as the body, and that there is no analogy between the transient appearances of angels recorded in Scripture, and the permanent complete humanity manifested in his actions and sufferings. The Council of Constantinople which condemned Apollinarius declared, that they considered Christ as truly incarnate; the Church soon began to speculate concerning the manner in which this complete human nature is united with the Godhead, and from these speculations arose sects whose peculiar tenets are still retained by some of the Eastern Churches.

Many things are predicated in Scripture of Christ, which can only be predicated of God, while there are others that are only applicable to man, and yet to both predicates he is the only subject. From the imperfection of language and of our own conceptions, it is our wisdom to rest in the enunciation of the simple fact, that the divine and human nature are united in one person. But Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 429, who had learnt to discriminate between the humanity of his master Δεσπότης, and the divinity of his lord Κύριος, was offended with language contradictory to this distinction, especially with Θεοτόκος, mother of God, a term which had been insensibly adopted since the rise of the Arian controversy, and he preached against it as unknown to the Apostles, and as unauthorized by the Church. He was exasperated by contradiction to

draw inadequate similies from the conjugal and civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, or the instrument, or the tabernacle of his godhead. His doctrine was condemned as heresy in the third General Council held at Ephesus, A.D. 441: yet it is doubtful, if he had been allowed to explain his meaning, whether it would have been found inconsistent with the decision of that assembly, that Christ is one person in whom two natures are most clearly united. His object was to avoid any appearance of ascribing the weakness of humanity to the divinity of Christ, and therefore he distinguished between Christ and God, who dwelt in Christ, as in a temple. The union he allowed to be indissoluble; still it was an union not of nature, but of will; such in kind, but much closer in degree, as subsists between two friends. Opposite to the Nestorian scheme is that of Eutyches, the friend of its great opponent Cyril of Alexandria, and archimandrite or superior of three hundred monks at Constantinople. In his zeal to abjure Nestorianism, he fell into the contrary heresy of Christ's single nature, for he seemed to teach that the human was absorbed in the divine. His doctrine was condemned in the fourth General Council held at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, which declared that there was no change, mixture, or confusion of the two natures, but that each retained its distinguishing properties. The successors of Eutyches, wishing to avoid this absurdity, and also to preserve the unity which Nestorius divided, declared their belief, that in Christ there was one nature two-fold, and in consequence they have been called Monophysites. In the Western Church these subtle distinctions are only known to the readers of ecclesiastical history; in the East, they still characterize two denominations of Christians. Nestorius, after much persecution, died in upper Egypt before the meeting of the Council of Chalcedon, to which he had been invited. Within the Roman Empire his doctrine had died away, so that in the reign of Justinian, A.D. 564, it was difficult to find a Nestorian church; but beyond these limits, his followers had discovered, and partially occupied, a new world. In Persia, notwithstanding the

powerful opposition of the Magi, Christianity had struck deep root; and as the Gospel had been introduced by Syrian missionaries, their language and discipline were interwoven with its original frame, and the study of the works of Theodore, Nestorius's master, prepared them to revere the memory of his disciple. The Nestorians followed the hordes that roved over Tartary: the credulity of Europe, according to Gibbon, was shown by a belief in the tradition, that one of their Khans had been even ordained, who was in consequence known by the name of Prester, that is, Presbyter John; but he considers it probable that even in the twelfth century there was a horde that professed Nestorian Christianity. They even penetrated China by sea and land, but made little impression. In the Indian peninsula they were more successful, for they founded there a flourishing church, which the Portuguese invaders instead of hailing as brethren in that heathen land, cruelly persecuted as soon as its clergy refused to submit to the Pope, of whose jurisdiction they then heard for the first time. Under the government of the East India Company, they have recovered their independence, and are allowed to keep up their intercourse with Antioch, from which they receive a patriarch: but both they and the church, whose supremacy they acknowledge, seem to have forgotten the characteristics of Nestorianism.

The history of the Eutychians is less copious and less romantic. They too had endured much persecution, and seemed likely to be extinguished, when revived by the preaching in the following century of Jacob Baradæus, from whom they derive the name of Jacobites. There was a time when their patriarch presided over a hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops: but in Asia they are now chiefly to be found on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and are reckoned at from fifty to eighty thousand souls. Their faith however had been diffused over the mass of the Egyptian nation, who almost unanimously, rejected the decrees of Chalcedon, and their dissent from the predominant orthodoxy of the empire, made them not unwilling to yield to the troops of the Khalifs: and thus religious differences and consequent

alienation of feeling, facilitated the triumph of Islam over their common Christianity. Abyssinia, that outpost of the faith and civilization, though both are much debased, against the rude tribes of southern Africa, still acknowledges its dependence upon the Church which converted it, by receiving from it the patriarch; and retains therefore, we may presume, this tenet, its characteristic error. The system is retained in greater purity by that remarkable people the Armenians, who like the Jews are scattered over the East, and like them grow rich as traders and bankers[g].

These are the four capital errors which distracted the early church on the point of the Incarnation, in opposition to which the first four Councils were called; whatever was by them decreed, either in the declaration of Christian belief or refutation of heresy, may all be comprised, as judicious Hooker[h] well noteth, in four words, truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως, that is, truly God, perfectly man, indivisibly one person, distinctly two natures; within the compass of which four heads, all heresies that touch the person of Christ may be with great facility brought to confine themselves[i]. The orthodox doctrine is completed by the miraculous conception, which means that Christ's human nature was formed, not in the ordinary method, but out of the substance of the Virgin Mary, by the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost. Some sects of early Christians, whose principles would not allow them to admit it, got rid of this article of the Christian faith, which is justly thought so important as to be specified in the creeds, by rejecting the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel, the only one which they received. In the "new and improved Version," as the Unitarians call it, the chapters of both the Evangelists who record it are printed in italics, as if of doubtful authority, though biblical students know that they are extant in all the manuscripts and ancient versions, and that the doctrine is implied in the narratives that follow. We know from inspiration that the prophecy, *A virgin shall conceive and bear a son,* designates Jesus, called therefore Emmanuel; and the early writers have

[g] Gibbon, chapter xlvii. [h] Book v. 54. [i] Pearson.

so interpreted Jeremiah's prophecy[i], *Jehovah hath created a new thing in the earth; a woman shall compass a man;* and as in the former instance, the context is favourable to this interpretation. An allusion to his peculiar birth occurs in Isaiah; "*Listen, O isles, unto me, and hearken, ye people, from far; Jehovah hath called me from the womb, from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name*[j]." But the passage of Micah is most decisive; for having first spoken of the antecedent generation, from everlasting, of the future ruler of Israel, who is to be born into this life at Bethlehem, he says, that *God will give up the nation until she who travaileth hath brought forth*[k]. It is implied in the excessive honour, too early paid to our Lord's Virgin Mother, (notwithstanding what I cannot but regard as a designed lowering of her in the Gospels;) which in the Church of Rome, has degenerated into idolatry. The conception of Jesus is the point from which we date the union between his two natures; and this being miraculous, the existence of the person in whom they are united was not physically derived from Adam. Even then as the son of man, Jesus is exalted above his brethren, and preserved from the contamination of original corruption, adhering to the race whose nature he assumed; and is peculiarly, as foretold to Eve, the seed of the woman. Since Jesus the Christ is both God and man, it follows that each nature in him is complete; and the connection between soul and body is a very inadequate representation of this personal or hypostatical union, as it is called by theologians. The soul without the body has no instrument of its operations, the body without the soul is destitute of the principle of life, and the two are only different parts of one complex nature. But Jesus the Christ was God before he became man; and there was nothing deficient in his manhood; so that he united in himself two distinct natures, each of which is perfect.

This union is the key which opens to us a great part of the phraseology of Scripture. He is sometimes spoken of as God, and sometimes as man, and things peculiar to

[i] Jer. xxxi. 22. [j] Is. xlix. 1. [k] Micah viii.

each nature are affirmed of him, not as if he possessed one nature to the exclusion of the other, but because possessing both, the characteristics of each of which may equally be applied to him; the properties of the one nature are sometimes in consequence, though not in strict accuracy, referred to the other; as, the *Son of man* hath power to forgive sins; the *Lord of glory* was crucified. It is this distinction between the divine and human natures which enables us to explain the humiliation and exaltation of the Son of God, and the termination of his mediatorial kingdom. This union is the corner stone of our religion; and if in our meditations we never lose sight of it, we shall perceive in the nature of the Messiah a completeness and a suitableness to the design of his coming, which of themselves create a strong presumption that we have rightly interpreted the Scriptures; and the different modes in which he is spoken of, as either nature was in the mind of the writers, can only be reconciled upon this the orthodox hypothesis.

The Article begins with saying, that the Son is *the Word of the Father*, and this must be granted by all who receive St. John's Gospel. The Greek term is an ambiguous one, for it means reason, whether existing in the mind as *thought*, or as communicated to others as *speech;* and those who wish it to be considered only as a divine attribute, not as a person, translate it by the first. But the corresponding terms in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, do not convey the first meaning: and though the description of that wisdom *which Jehovah possessed in the beginning of his way*[1], might justify its application in that sense to the second person of the Trinity; still the context shows that the latter was intended by the Evangelist. A man's word or thought is not called man; nor would the word or wisdom of God be called God, if a mere attribute or operation was intended. Allowing then the Logos to be a person, the Evangelist says, that he was *with* God, and it cannot be supposed that he was the self-same person *with* whom he was, that is the Father, nor is it said that he was *in* God, which would be the proper mode of expressing an attribute. The Apostle observes also, that

[1] Proverbs viii.

the Baptist was not *that Light*, intimating that it was of a person that he had been speaking; and concludes with declaring that this Logos, the only-begotten of the Father, and therefore not the same, became incarnate[m]. This personality, so strongly insisted upon and enforced by St. John, appears also in the voluminous works of the contemporary Jew Philo, in the Chaldee Targums or paraphrases of Scripture, and in some remarkable passages in the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon: and none who acknowledge this will deny the application of the term Word to the Son. Various conjectures have been formed of its origin. To me the most satisfactory is, that it had become familiar to the hellenizing Jews as the Septuagint rendering of the Word of the Lord; and this at the same time explains its occurrence in Philo and the Apocrypha, anterior to Gnosticism. I conceive the best explanation of its use is the substitution of the abstract for the concrete. Salvation is put for Saviour in the Gospels, according to the genius of the Hebrew tongue: and Word for the speaker of words is a most appropriate title for him, who has declared or explained ἐξεγήσατο to mean his God. Probably this introduction to the Gospel of St. John would never have been written, if the author had not lived in an age and place infected with that philosophical and in reality unchristian system, which assumed the proud title of Knowledge γνώσις; for after referring to it as he does to Light and Life, terms likewise desecrated by the Gnostics, he uses it no more throughout his narrative. He had previously employed it in the opening of his Epistle; and gives the title in the Revelation to the triumphant Redeemer; but it clearly never became a popular word among the orthodox: though I presume it was in use among the heretics, at least those of Arabia, for it has been perpetuated as a title of our Lord in the Koran. The Moslem, however, ignorant of Gnosticism, take it in a literal sense, and interpret it to mean, that the son of Mary was not generated, but created by a word[n]. The Logos is called the Son, and the Son of God, in so emphatic a manner, or under such circumstances, as to be applicable to him only in his preexistent state. As when the Father's voice from

[m] Waterland, Lady Moyer's Lectures. [n] Maracci's Koran, iii. and the notes.

heaven proclaimed him his beloved son in whom he was well pleased, for he was then only about to enter upon his office as Messiah, and this love prior to any act of his on earth, infers a higher and antecedent filiation. *No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son*, implies that the knowledge of the two is reciprocal[n]; and *all men should honour the son as they honour the Father*[o], is equivalent. St. Paul's description of our Lord[p] *as the seed of David after the flesh*, and *the son of God declared with power according to the Spirit of holiness*, contrasts his divine and human natures; and even the passage[q], *Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee*, (though at first sight it might seem to refer to his birth into this world,) is brought forward to show his superiority to Angels. This eternal filiation is supported by St. John[r]; and as Jesus is thus emphatically called the Son, so is the first person of the Trinity called his Father in a peculiar sense; as when the Apostle says[s], *with one mind and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*[t]. The demons themselves acknowledged Jesus to be the Son of God[u], which the Jews understand as equivalent to Deity; for when Peter replied not only, *Thou art the Christ*, but also *the Son of the living God*[x], Jesus declared him blessed for the acknowledgment of a faith which God had revealed to him; and it is incontrovertible, that our Lord suffered death for making himself the Son of God, which (on this very account) they accounted blasphemy[y]. And this mystery is probably intimated in the metaphors which designate him as *the Branch of Jehovah*[z], *the brightness of the Father's glory*, and *the express image of his person*[a].

Everlasting seems to be added, to show that he is not so called merely because of his conception by the Holy Ghost, but that before his birth he had been a Son, and that "there had never been a time when he was not."

[n] Matt. xi. 27. [o] John v. 23. [p] Rom. i. 3, 4. [q] Heb. i. 5. [r] John iii. 16, 17. xvii. 24. Mark xii. 6. Heb. i. 6. 1 John iv. 9. Col. i. 13—17. Rev. viii. 3, 32. 1 John i. 3. [s] Rom. xv. 6. [t] 2 Cor. i. 3; xi. 31. Eph. i. 3. 1 Pet. i. 3. [u] Matt. viii. 29. Mark i. 24; iii. 11. Luke iv. 34; viii. 28. [x] Matt. xvi. 15—17. [y] Matt. xxvi. 63. [z] Isaiah iv. 2. Zech. iii. 8; vi. 22. [a] 2 Cor. iv. 4. Col. i. 15. Heb. i. 3.

Of the Father, makes this generation still more definite. The term begotten is implied whenever Father or Son is mentioned; and only-begotten, used by St. John[b], and by our Lord himself in his discourse with Nicodemus[c], evidently declares that he was his son in a higher sense than any other being: and for this we have the authority of the Evangelist; for upon our Lord saying, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work,* he observes, *therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the sabbath, but said also that God was his* [own or peculiar ἴδιον] *Father, making himself equal with God*[d]. Bishop Pearson has shown that the Deity of Christ is comprehended in the phrase only Son: and were it not, the Creed would have been insufficient, and could be rehearsed with propriety by the modern Unitarian. "The Socinians take only-begotten to be nothing more than most beloved of all sons, because Isaac was called the only son of Abraham, when we know that he had Ishmael beside; but the terms are not synonymous, for a son is beloved because he is an only one, not an only one because beloved. Beside, Isaac was so called for another reason, for he was the *only son of the free-woman,* the only son of the promise made to Abraham[e]. We must therefore, avoiding this exposition as far short of the true notion of the only-begotten, look upon it in the most proper, full, and significant sense, as signifying a son so begotten as none ever is, was, or can be. Others we acknowledge are frequently called the sons of God; and we call the same God our Father, whom Christ called his, and *he is not ashamed to call us brethren;* but the sonship into which we come is but that of adoption, showing the generation by which we are begotten to be but metaphorical; whereas Christ is so properly, and by nature, the son of God, that even in his humanity he refuseth the name of an adopted son; *for when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his son made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law,* (not that *he,* but) *we might receive the adoption of sons.* He then whose

[b] John i. 14—18. and 1 John iv. 19. [c] John iii. 16, 18. [d] John v. 18.
[e] Gen. xviii. 14; xxi. 12. Heb. xi. 17.

generation is totally different from ours, is truly the only-begotten; notwithstanding the same God hath begotten us by his word; and the reason is, because the divine *essence* was communicated to him in his natural and eternal generation, whereas only the divine *grace* is conveyed unto us in our adoption[f]."

The very and eternal God asserts our Lord's divinity in its proper and strict sense; a sense to which Arians cannot subscribe: nor those who like Socinus consider him as constituted on his resurrection the object of adoration, as the reward of his obedience and sufferings; a position, we may observe, so extraordinary, that nothing can account for his invention of it but the fact, that the Testament so decidedly proclaims his divinity, that he was obliged in a qualified sense to admit it. The student of ecclesiastical antiquity may easily satisfy himself, from the testimony both of Christians and of the Heathen, that it has ever been the received doctrine of the Church, not merely as a speculative opinion, but followed out into its proper consequence, divine worship. Pliny, the earliest of the latter, whose description of the worship of the Christians has reached us, informs the Emperor Trajan, in an official Letter as Governor of the province to the believers in which St. Peter had written, that they met on stated days to sing hymns to Christ as to God; and they were commonly reproached with the absurdity of worshipping one that had been executed as a malefactor. Celsus objects against us, says Origen[g], I know not how often respecting Jesus, that we consider him as God with a mortal body. Indeed, his principal objection seems to have been the union of the two natures in the person of Christ. He says[h], that the place is shown where he who is worshipped by Christians was born; and ridicules their inconsistency in blaming the worshippers of Jupiter, whose tomb was shown in Crete, while they worship as God the sophist who was crucified in Palestine. Such a testimony from a professed enemy of

[f] Pearson, on the Creed, p. 139.

[g] Orig. iii.

[h] Τὸν μέγα γοῦν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι σέβουσιν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπίσεντα. Peregrine Proteus.

the Gospel in the second century, allowed to be true by the Christian writer who confutes him in the third, is decisive of the fact. Lucian, the contemporary of the former, shows that this was no novelty, for he says[h], that they *still* worship that great man who had been crucified; and we learn from the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, that the orator Libanius praised Porphyry and the Emperor Julian for confuting the folly of a sect, which styled a dead man of Palestine God, and the son of God. The Deity of Christ is expressly asserted by Ignatius[i], Justin, and Irenæus, the earliest Fathers; and the testimony of their successors, down to the Council of Nice, may be seen in Bishop Bull's celebrated work, or more conveniently in the English volume of Dr. Burton, who has translated and arranged in order the passages which bear upon this controversy. Eusebius[k] relates, that it was expressly declared in hymns and psalms of the earliest date; and that Theodotus a tanner, in the second century, was the first who ventured to maintain, what he emphatically stig-

[h] Ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες, θεοὺς μὲν τοῦς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσχολοπίσμενον, ἐκεῖνον σοφιστὴν προσκύνουσι. Peregrine Proteus.

[i] Thus the first writes to the Romans, Ἐπιτρέψατε μοι μίμητην εἶναι πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ μοῦ, suffer me to be an imitator of the sufferings of my God: and to the Ephesians, There is one carnal and spiritual Physician, made and not made, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεὸς, the incarnate God both of Mary and of God.

[k] The passage is so interesting, that I insert a translation of the whole. "All our predecessors and the Apostles themselves have taught the doctrine which these now teach; and the truth which had been preserved to the time of Victor, thirteenth Bishop of Rome; in that of his successor Zephyrinus, was adulterated. What has been said might have been credited, did not first the divine Scriptures oppose it, and secondly the writings of certain brethren older than Victor, written against the heathen in behalf of the truth, and against heresies of their days. I speak of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many others, in all of which is Christ represented as God; for who is ignorant of the books of Irenæus, of Melito, and of the rest, setting forth Christ as God and man? And how many psalms and hymns [ᾠδὰς] of the brethren, composed from the beginning by the faithful, celebrate Christ, the Word of God, as God? How then when for so many years the ecclesiastical opinion has been announced, is it possible that those who were before Victor could proclaim as these say? how comes it that they are not ashamed thus to falsify Victor's sentiments, accurately knowing that he solemnly excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this God-denying, ἀρνησίθεου, apostasy?" Euseb. v. 28.

matises as the God-denying apostasy, for which he was excommunicated by Victor Bishop of Rome. The earliest heresies that prevailed in the Church, and which begun even in the lifetime of the Apostles, show the deep impression that had been made that our Lord was more than man, and even drove some who originated or imbibed them into the contrary extreme; for they could not bear the notion that the Logos had been in any manner united to a material body; to evade which presumed degradation, they imagined, contrary to his own declaration to his Apostles, that he was an immaterial phantom, and had only *seemed* to be crucified. But happily we are not left to tradition as our authority, for this vital doctrine; this Sun, as it has been called, round which as the center, revolves the sure word of God. The whole system in all its glory and harmony, has come down to us; and when we appeal to that volume, the proofs are so numerous, that our only perplexity is to make a judicious selection. This I shall attempt to do: but first I would observe, that this leading truth is *indirectly implied* in various ways: and this is no other than we might expect, for it is pregnant with the most serious consequences, and involves the deepest responsibility. If Christ be not God, we who offer to him the homage due to the Deity alone, are guilty of idolatry; nor is it on the other hand a trivial offence, to withhold divine honour, if it ought to be paid, and to equalize with ourselves one, whom angels and archangels adore as *over all, God blessed for ever.* Its importance is also manifest from the inseparable connection of this doctrine with the purpose of his appearance on earth; and the relation in which man stands to God. Dr. Priestley would fain persuade us, that the doctrine of immortality, which is, he says, the great object of the whole revealed will of God, is just as acceptable from the mouth of the son of Joseph and Mary, as from the mouth of a man created for the purpose, from the mouth of an angel, or from the voice of God Himself speaking from heaven. This, however, is expressly contradictory of the opinion of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who opens it with a declaration of the glory of Christ as the superior of prophets

and angels, the equal of the Father, and the Creator of all things; and deduces from his dignity the obvious inference, that the importance of the message, and the danger of rejecting it, must bear some proportion to the rank of the messenger; *therefore we ought to give more earnest heed to the things which we have heard; for if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord*[1]. If Jesus was not superior to prophets and angels, there is no force in this conclusion; and, on the other hand, the higher his superiority, the more imperative is the duty. But his business was not merely or mainly, as the same writer states, to deliver a message from God, and to confirm it by miracles: for we distinctly and entirely deny the justice of this representation. We assert, that he came in the character not only of a Prophet, but of a Priest; not merely to teach, but to redeem; not only to set an example of obedience, but to atone for transgression, and to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; not only by his own resurrection to demonstrate the certainty of our's, but to entitle those, who by faith appropriate to themselves the justification that he has accomplished, to a happy eternity. The accomplishment of such a work, as it was infinitely beyond the reach of any created being, required the interposition of the co-equal son of God; and we shall find his divinity so clearly declared in so many various ways, that if we did not know the power of prejudice to bias the understanding, we should think it impossible to deny that it is the doctrine of the New Testament, which infidels both of ancient and modern times acknowledge, and on that account reject its authority. It is clearly implied in the doctrine of atonement, which the modern Unitarian therefore, consistently with his preconceived theory, rejects; yet so interwoven are both with the whole texture, that they cannot be explained away without stultifying the arguments in the Epistles, and depriving a large portion of the sacred text of its obvious meaning. Dr. Priestly indeed confesses, that a

[1] Heb. ii. 1.

plain ordinary reader would take the expressions in the ancient and usual sense, but that on examination they will bear his; such an admission, especially when we consider the honest simplicity of the authors, is itself fatal to his system, for he confesses, that the Scriptures which were designed to convey to us true notions of religion, have been so written, as to lead in every age the great body of believers into the worst of errors, which they themselves denounce in the strongest terms, idolatry. Take as an instance of this, St. Paul's exhortation to the Philippians to humility, grounded upon our Lord's example, *Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus*[m]; which is a very striking one, if we consider the Apostle to mean, that though equal to God, he condescended to divest himself for a season of his glory, and to assume human nature, and die an ignominious death; but can have no meaning on the supposition of a simple humanity, for what humility would there be in the best and greatest of human beings not claiming equality with the Deity, and receiving for such condescension so high an exaltation as to be placed at the head of the universe? Many declarations are only intelligible upon our supposition. Thus the love of God, as displayed in the mission of Christ, is uniformly spoken of in terms which intimate its astonishing and unparalleled greatness[n]; but if the latter was merely a man commissioned to teach the will of God, if his life was no more than an example, his death but a confirmation of his testimony, in what shall we discover this unparalleled peculiarity of love; and whence derive that incomparably superior obligation, which the passages referred to so strongly express? The will of God was more fully developed by the Apostles after the day of Pentecost, than it had been by Jesus himself during his life. Why then is Jesus characterised as God's *unspeakable gift?* why is the love displayed in this gift the pledge and assurance of every other blessing, a pledge so precious, an assurance so decisive, as to convert into a contradiction in terms, the very supposition that any other possible should ever be withheld? The same remark applies to the scriptural

[m] Phil. ii. 5. [n] John iii. 16. Rom. v. 8; viii. 31, 32. 1 John iv. 8.

statements of the astonishing condescension and love of the Lord Jesus Christ himself: *Ye know the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ*[o], *that though he was rich*, (which could only have been in a preexistent state,) *yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.* With this is closely connected the depth of interest, and the warmth of adoring gratitude, with which the contemplation of the subject inspired the hearts of the New Testament writers. Even an incidental allusion to it carries them away from the topic before them, and fills them with the loftiest emotions[p]. *He that spared not his own son, how will he not with him freely give us all things*[q]*?* whence these glowing transports? Take away the view of Christ's condescension in *assuming our nature*, to suffer and to die for the redemption of those who were lost, and such transports become mere passion without reason; but admit this view, and all is natural, the cause is adequate to the effect. The same conclusion follows from the high claims of Jesus himself on the love and obedience of his followers. He requires from them such a love as can be due to God alone, a preference to their nearest earthly relatives, and even to their own lives; and yet his claims were owned and felt to be just, and love to Him became the grand moving principle of their conduct. *The love of Christ constraineth us*[r]. Love to him is declared to be the characteristic of believers. *Grace be with all them who love the Lord Jesus Christ with sincerity*[s], and the absence of this feeling is sufficient to bring down a curse. *If any one love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema*[t]. The obligations to such supreme love, we find we cannot feel, on the supposition of his simple humanity, either on account of what he is, or what he has done; but view him as *Emmanuel, God with us*, the atoning Redeemer of a lost world, and all is as it ought to be. This is indeed the only ground of consistency in the scheme of redemption: without it, our Lord could not be entitled, in its full acceptation, to his appropriate title of Saviour, nor be, as he is affirmed to be, the *Light of the*

[o] 2 Cor. viii. 9. [p] Rom. v. [q] Phil. iii. 7. [r] 2 Cor. v. 14.
[s] Eph. vi. 24. [t] 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

world, as revealing the will of God to mankind. *No one hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* *No one*, saith our Saviour himself, *knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.* He saith also, that the holy Spirit that is to *guide them into all the truth* shall not communicate to them any new revelation, but shall receive of his, and show it to his disciples; and accordingly St. Paul, speaking of the inspiration of himself, and the other Apostles, says, *we have the mind of Christ.* And this knowledge thus revealed *by* Christ was not revealed *to* him, but possessed by him intuitively, because he dwells in the bosom of the Father, and has dwelt there from eternity, being *daily his delight, and rejoicing always before Him*[u]. Upon the Unitarian hypothesis, I cannot see how the Jews can be charged with guilt in putting Jesus to death. The law of Moses required the blasphemer to be stoned, and the construction they put upon his words upon one occasion was, because thou *being a man makest thyself God.* When brought before the Sanhedrim, after several vain attempts to convict him of any crime, he was put upon his oath. In answer to the question thus solemnly put, *Art thou the Christ, the Son of the blessed God?* he answered in the affirmative, and upon this the high priest rent his clothes, and pronounced him guilty of blasphemy for the saying, in consequence of which the council condemned him to death. The sense in which he was understood, and for which he suffered, cannot be doubted; if it were not the true one, and he was misunderstood, it is for the Unitarians to show why he did not correct their mistake, and thus save his own life, and them from the guilt of his condemnation. According to this doctrine, he suffered them to rest in a pernicious system, "a mischievous compound," as Belsham terms it, "of impiety and idolatry;" and the Apostles wherever they went spread the same system[v]. We now proceed to the *direct* proofs of our

[u] Proverbs viii.

[v] These reflections are condensed from Dr. Wardlaw's able and edifying Discourses on the Socinian controversy.

Lord's divine nature, by showing that they ascribe to him,

1. The *attributes;* 2. the *operations;* and 3. the *titles of the Deity;* and 4. that they set him forth as the object of supreme religious worship, and justify and recommend it by their own example.

These attributes are, 1. *eternity;* 2. *immutability;* 3. *omniscience;* 4. *omnipresence;* 5. *almighty power.*

Christ, when he appeared to John in Patmos, in glory too bright to be sustained by mortal vision, declared himself to be *the first* and *the last;* the very description given in the Old Testament of the eternity of the God of Israel. *Thus saith Jehovah king of Israel, and his Redeemer Jehovah of hosts, I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God*[w]. The Jews of old, and the Christian church from the beginning, have understood the Wisdom described by Solomon[x] of a person, and this is said to have been *with the Lord before his works of old,* consequently from all eternity. It is probable in reference to this text, that Paul calls Christ *the wisdom of God;* and the famous passage in Micah speaks of two *goings forth of the Ruler of Israel;* the one when he was born in Bethlehem, the other from *of old* and *of everlasting;* two Hebrew terms, either of which doth sometimes denote eternity in the strict sense[y]. *He is before all things,* Col. i. 17. *Thy name, O God, is for ever,* is in the Epistle to the Hebrews referred to the Son; and the author describes him afterwards as abiding a priest continually *without beginning of days or end of life*[z].

Immutability. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews opposes the immutability of Christ to the fading and perishing nature of the heavens and the earth, by applying to him the hundred and second Psalm, the force of which was well understood by Athanasius, and triumphantly urged by him against the Arians. In the same Epistle, *Jesus Christ* is said to be

[w] Isaiah xliv. 6. and xlviii. 12.
[x] Proverbs viii.
[y] For the first, see Ps. iv. 19. Hab. i. 12. for the second, Ps. xc. 2; xciii 2.
[z] Heb. i. 8; vii. 3.

the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever[a]*;* which may be explained by a parallel text in the Revelations, *who is, who was, and who is to come*[b], words which undeniably denote eternal, unchangeable existence.

Omniscience may justly be predicated of him in whom *are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.* It was ascribed to him while on earth by his disciples, *Lord, thou knowest all things*[c]*: He knew what is in man*[d]*;* and he himself claims this peculiar and distinguishing attribute of the one true God[e], *I am he that searcheth the reins and heart*[f]*:* and the prayer of the Apostles, *Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men*[g], was probably addressed to him, to whom they had declared before his death, *now we are sure that thou knowest all things*[h].

Omnipresence, which may be said to be comprehended in omniscience, is in these texts plainly declared. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*[i]; in substance the same as the assurance given by Jehovah to Moses, *in all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee*[k]. *Lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world*[l]. *By him all things consist*[m], which is a most emphatical description of the omnipresence of God.

Almighty power. The title of mighty God is assigned to him among those peculiar to Deity, in the prediction of Isaiah, *Unto us a Child is born.* He calls Himself, *the Almighty*[n], and the Apostle ascribes to him an energy *whereby he is able to subdue even all things unto himself*[o]. And all these inherent attributes are shown to be in him, because they are put forth in the divine operations of

1. *Creation*, which is affirmed in the strongest terms conceivable by St. John; *By him all things were made, and without him was not even one thing made that was made*[p]*;* and by St. Paul[q], who also adds, that *they were created for him*[r].

[a] Heb. xiii. 8. [b] Rev. i. 8. [c] John xxi. 17; xvi. 30. [d] John ii. 25. [e] Jer. xvii. 10. 1 Kings viii. 39. Rev. ii. 23. [g] Acts i. 24. [h] John xvi. 30. [i] Matt. xviii. 20. [k] Exod. xv. 24. [l] Matt. xxviii. 20. [m] Col. i. 17. [n] Rev. i. 8. [o] Phil. iii. 21. [p] John i. 3. [q] Col. i. 16. [r] 1 Cor. viii. 6. Heb. i. 2.

2. *The preservation of* what he originally made. *Upholding all things by the word of his power*[s].

3. *The government of all things*, asserted in the second and seventy-second Psalms. *Christ who is over all things*[t]; *gave him to be head over all things unto the church*[u]; *at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of beings in heaven, earth, and under the earth*[v]: and he strengthened the Apostles for their great work of converting the world by the assurance, that all power had been given unto him. As Christ governs the world now, he will judge it hereafter, *when he shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels; and then shall he reward every man according to his works*[w]: for *the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son*[x]; who is ordained to be judge of quick and dead, *when all that are in the graves shall hear his voice*, and he will *give to his sheep eternal life*[y].

4. *His working miracles, in his incarnate state*, not like the prophets and his apostles by previous prayer to God, but by his own authority. Thus to the leper, *I will, be thou clean*[a]; to the sea, *Peace, be still, and the winds and the sea obey him*[b]; and by that undoubted prerogative of Deity, forgiveness of sins; *Who can forgive sins, but God alone;* a power denied to him by the scribes, but asserted by himself, which he proved he possessed by the miraculous cure of the paralytic; *that ye may know that the Son of man hath power to forgive sins, he said to the sick of the palsy, Arise, take up thy bed, and walk*[c].

5. Redemption is also ascribed to the Son, not as his Father's instrument, but as his own voluntary act. *Being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him*[d]: *Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity*[e].

The idea that redemption conveys to the English reader, is the recovery of a slave from bondage by purchase, or by the superior power of a conqueror; and the latter well

[s] Heb. i. 2. [t] Rom. ix. 5. [u] Eph. i. 20. [v] Phil. ii. 9—11.
[w] Matt. xvii. [x] John v. 22. [y] John v. 28. [z] John x. 28.
[a] Matt. viii. 3. [b] Matt. viii. 27. Mark iv. 39. [c] Matt. ix. 27.
[d] Heb. v. 9. [e] Titus ii. 14.

expresses the deliverance of the captives of Satan. But in Hebrew there are two words for Redeemer, and the most important of these, Goel, is of a much higher significance, since it declares the nature as well as the work of the redeemer, and the reason for his redeeming; and affords a proof, overlooked by or unknown to many, of the divinity of our deliverer. I recommend the perusal of the chapter on the Goel in Michaelis' Mosaic Law, translated by Smith, in which it appears, that the office, though adopted by the Hebrew legislature, was anterior to the Law, is still existing under another name among the Arabs, and with some modification prevails in most countries in an early stage of society. The Goel is the nearest kinsman, and undertakes all the duties of consanguinity. The idea being unknown to modern times, translators have endeavoured to explain it, by rendering it *next of kin*, when the Goel is called on, as in the tale of Ruth, to marry, and *blood avenger*, when it is his duty to slay the murderer of his nearest relation. Such a redeemer must be, of necessity, a kinsman: and if our Saviour be also in this sense our Redeemer, he must be a partaker of our flesh and blood, to entitle him to undertake the office. But flesh and blood we know, however willing, could never have achieved his triumph; our Goel therefore must be also divine; and for the strong consolation of the intelligent student of the sacred language it is written, *thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel*, that Lord of Hosts, whom we know from other texts to be the second person of the Trinity. In the early book of Job, the patriarch declares his trust in his Redeemer, and expresses his fervent desire that a speech so weighty *should be graven on a rock* in characters which should last for ever. I believe with the ancient interpreters, that he looked forward to no restoration to health and property: and that with Schultens he meant it to be an epitaph on his tomb, (probably an excavation in a rock,) in evidence of his dying in the full assurance of hope. There seems to me no doubt, that he believed after his body had apparently perished, he should on his resurrection *see in the flesh his near kinsman*[f],

[f] Is. xliv. 6; liv. 5.

and *that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth* to claim him from the grave; and wished to record his conviction, that he was not a temporal deliverer, but that *his Redeemer was the Living one*[g], *the God whom he should then see in the flesh.*

It may however be asked, why are we left to deduce his divinity from the attributes and offices assigned to him; why is he not expressly declared to be God? and we reply, that his divinity is affirmed in several passages, and in none with more effect and solemnity than in the Gospel of St. John, which opens with the positive declaration, that the Logos, whose history in his incarnate state he was about to give, was God; and not limiting himself to the mere ascription of the name, he describes him in such terms as show that he intended no nominal or inferior Deity, but God in the true, strict, and proper sense, eternal and immutable, of the same power and perfections and nature as the Father. And as he began his Gospel with observing, that the Son as well as the Father is God, so it is remarkable that he ends his Epistle with the same doctrine. *This is the true God and eternal life:* and in the Revelation Christ not only appears with all the divine attributes, but declares, *I will be a God to him that overcometh*[h]. *Of whom* (the Israelites) *as concerning the flesh the Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever,* is the climax with which Paul closes his enumeration of the privileges of his countrymen, which Unitarians have in vain endeavoured to force ungrammatically, to bear another sense, which would deprive of meaning the clause *as concerning the flesh*[i]. The same Apostle furnishes other passages. Thus in the first Epistle to Timothy, *God manifested in the flesh,* which even if we adopt the readings *who* or *which,* may be shown from the context still to assert the Saviour's divinity. And in that to Titus, looking *for the appearance of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ,* not so rendered in our present, though it was in our former version, and which the genius of the language and the express declaration of the Greek Father Chrysostom prove, can only be applied

[g] Job xix. 23—37. [h] Rev. xxi. 7. [i] Rom. ix. 5.

to the Son; which the sense also shows, since there will be no manifestation or epiphany of the Father, *whom no man hath seen or can see*[j].

This rule of interpretation gives us St. Peter's testimony[k], *through the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ*, which is also borne out by the meaning. The application of the forty-fifth Psalm to him by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is equivalent to calling him God; *Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever;* and the *mighty God*, the title which is given to the one supreme God of Israel[l], is among those that are assigned to the child, whose birth is announced by Isaiah, and who he says shall be called *Emmanuel, or God with us.* This evidence had been almost altogether overlooked by modern critics. The philanthropist Granville Sharp had the merit of reviving it; and Dr. Wordsworth, the late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, proved by a variety of passages in prose and verse, that the same idiom prevailed in classical Greek. It was however no discovery, though its importance was not generally understood till the publication of Bishop Middleton's work on the Greek Article. It is maintained without the least hesitation by Beza, in his note on the celebrated passage in Titus, and it may be proved by the exposition of the Greek Fathers on some of these texts. It is allowed by Jerome; but seems to have been lost sight of in the Western Church, the language of which is destitute of the article. The rule is, that when two or more personal nouns of the same gender, number, and case are connected by the copulative, if the first has the article and the others not, they all relate to the same person; or, as Beza long ago expressed it, in a note to his Greek Testament, Postulat Græci sermonis constructio ut ad unum idemque subjectum referatur utrumque prædicatum nec magis probabiliter τοῦ μέγαλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ad duos distinctos personas referri quam ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ itaque sic concludo

[j] Clement of Alexandria agrees with Chrysostom, and the translation is approved alike by Whitby and the Roman Catholic commentator Calmet.

[k] 2 Pet. i. 1. [l] Isaiah x. 21.

Christum Jesum hic aperte magnum Deum dici, qui et beata illa Spes nostra metonymice vocatur. Illi igitur ut vero magno et æterna Deo ὁμοούσιῳ καὶ συναϊδιῳ sit gloria et laus omnis in sæcula sæculorum. Finally it may be shown, that Jehovah, the incommunicable name of Deity, is continually applied to God the Son: and it is affirmed by the Evangelist, when he declares that the Messiah was the *Jehovah of hosts*, whom Isaiah saw *upon his throne*. It is undeniable that Κύριος is the translation of this aweful and holy name, both in the Septuagint and the New Testament; and from this we learn the ancient date of the superstition of the Jews, who read *Adon*, answering to Κύριος and Lord, for Jehovah, which they deem too sacred to pronounce. This word Lord being also addressed as a term of respect to human superiors, it will be difficult always to distinguish when it is meant to signify more: for, like προσχύνειν, to worship, or to do homage, being ambiguous, the context of the passage must decide its import; but there can be no doubt when it is used in citations from the Old Testament. Thus, when we read of John the Baptist saying, *This is he who was spoken of by Esaias the prophet, crying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord;* a reference to the original will satisfy us that this Lord is Jehovah, the same who saith, *Behold, I will send my messenger before my face, and he will prepare the way before me*[l]. This once admitted, and how can it be denied, we shall find in the Old Testament abundant declarations of the divinity of the Son of God; and we shall adopt the conclusion of the primitive Church, as stated as early as Justin Martyr, that all the appearances of Deity therein recorded, are manifestations of the second Person in the Divine Essence. In many of these passages this is made plainer by the addition of angel, or messenger, not the angel of the Lord, as it is rendered, but the angel Lord, two substantives in apposition, that is, the Jehovah that is sent, the one indicating his nature, the other his office. This was the angel, for the contexts show that he was no created being who wrestled with Jacob, who appeared to Manoah and his wife[m], and announced

[l] Malachi iii. [m] Judges xiii. 18.

his name to be Pelah, wonderful, (one of the titles given by Isaiah to Immanuel;) and to Moses in the burning bush, he declares himself to be Jehovah, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. As such he must unquestionably be the object of supreme adoration, and to him the Apostle applies the ninety-seventh Psalm, *confounded be all they who worship graven images; worship him, all ye gods;* as if he had said, worship no more idols of any kind, worship the Messiah, not only ye sons of Adam, but ye angels also, to whom this worship is often foolishly rendered. This worship is required from both, for we are told, that *at the name of Jesus every knee should bow*[n]; a fact foretold by Isaiah, *Look unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else; surely to me shall every knee bow, shall every tongue swear, saying, Only to Jehovah belongeth salvation and power*[o]. This has been accomplished as far as the reign of Christ has extended, and if any doubt of the propriety of this adoration could be entertained, it ought to be removed by his own declaration, that the final judgment hath been committed to him; *that all men might honour the Son, even as they honour the Father*[p]. In conformity with this St. Paul prays, *that grace, mercy, and peace might be communicated* to those to whom he wrote, *from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ;* and to this effect he writes in all his Epistles, except in that to the Hebrews, which does not commence with any benediction. He often prays to Christ directly: *Now God himself, even our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you. And the Lord make you to increase and abound in love*[q], &c. The first prayer is equally offered up to the Father and to the Son; the second to the Son alone; and he entreats both, *our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, to comfort the hearts* of the Thessalonians, *and to stablish them in every good word and work*[r]. Christ was *the Lord,* when Paul *besought thrice,* and who comforted him with the assurance that *His strength was made perfect in weakness*[s]. And there can be no doubt that he was the Lord whom the dying Stephen invoked when he committed his soul to his care,

[n] Phil. ii. [o] Is. xlv. 22. [p] John v. 22. [q] 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12.
[r] 2 Thess. ii. 16, 17. [s] 2 Cor. xii. 8.

being as we are told at the time full of the Holy Ghost. After his resurrection, Thomas addresses him not only as his Master, but as his God; and so general was the practice, that from this very custom believers received as their distinguishing appellation, 'Those who called on the name of Christ.' Of Paul upon his conversion it was said, *Is not this he who destroyed them that called upon this name in Jerusalem*[t]*?* And the same Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, wishing to mark that he meant his Epistle for the use of other Christians also, denominates them as those *that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord*[u]. I close this variety of evidence, by fixing your attention on the glorious vision which cheered the beloved disciple when an exile in Patmos, *for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.* The Deity appeared to him on a throne in heaven, and he saw also a *Lamb as it had been slain*, surrounded by multitudes *redeemed by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue*, and encircled beyond by myriads of angels, both uniting in the *new song* of praise, saying, *Blessing, and glory, and honour, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.*

Such being the overpowering evidence for the divine nature of our Redeemer, Prophet, Priest, and King, it was to be expected that he should receive the adoration of his people. We find accordingly, that in the Greek Liturgies, (interpolated, yet substantially of remote antiquity,) though as in our own Book of Common Prayer, and the Breviary from which it is in great part derived, the Father is generally addressed through the Son, yet the Son himself is frequently the object of worship. The prayer taken from the Liturgy of Constantinople, which bears the name of Chrysostom, must be familiar to you all; but such is our tendency to repeat words without thinking of their meaning, that some of you may be surprised to learn, that this worship is not limited to Collects, but that the Te Deum and the Litany, the first, with the exception of three verses, which have the air of an insertion, and the latter, omitting the introductory invocations, are addressed exclusively to the Lamb of God,

[t] Acts ix. 21. [u] 1 Cor. i. 2.

the good Lord, an epithet by which in France the Son is still commonly distinguished from the Father. The appropriation of Te Deum may not be so generally allowed, as the worshipper is likely to be misled by "Father everlasting." He will, however, find it among the exalted titles assigned in Isaiah to the incarnate Deity; which the Septuagint has well rendered, "Father of the coming age;" and on referring to Isaiah's vision, he will perceive, that it suggested this composition; and that the Jehovah Sabaoth, whom the prophet describes upon his throne as adored by the seraphim, is, as I have just observed, declared by St. John to be the Messiah. This application of the hymn will hardly be disputed by those who understand the original; for Te Deum laudamus is, We praise thee [not O God, but] as God; and this is confirmed by the following parallelism, "We acknowledge thee to be the Lord." The Name of Jesus has in every age sounded "as music in the believer's ear;" nor would he willingly his praise "from his Father's praise disjoin." Still it has from the beginning, I apprehend, been more common to address to him thanksgivings, than petitions; and we have read in Eusebius[x], how the primitive Christians, who *called upon his name*, acted upon Paul's advice to the Ephesians and Colossians, to make *melody in their hearts to the Lord, in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.* This singing was evidently not limited to divine service, but enlivened their hours of recreation, and in solitude "made the wounded spirit whole, and calmed the troubled breast." Several devout addresses of Gregory Nazianzen to Christ on a journey and in illness, and on other occasions, have been preserved: and many Latin hymns to the Saviour in the Breviary are justly admired for their piety; yet as far as my knowledge reaches he appears in them rather as the sovereign and the judge, than the gracious friend of repentant sinners; and I believe it is only in Protestant collections of hymns, and especially in the multitude provided for English congregations; from Watts, our earliest and most abundant author, both in quality and quantity, down to the beautiful compositions of the still living poet of the United Brethren,

[x] Evang. xix. c. iii 16.

that Jesus is magnified as Emmanuel, and as "our great high priest above;" and if so, the Anglo-Saxon race is privileged above the other families of man at home, and beyond the Atlantic, and in its settlements in Australia, to "celebrate his Lord's constant care and sympathetic love."

Slight and imperfect as this statement is, I am confident that it must confirm you in your belief that the Scriptures to the hearing ear proclaim the divinity of our Lord. At the same time we are as desirous as our opponents can be, of maintaining his humanity; for though as God we might acknowledge and worship him, it is as man that he suffered and died for us. The Article accordingly proceeds to say, that "he took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance." *There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus:* and *since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.* As sure then as the first Adam and we who are redeemed are men, so is the *second Adam, the Lord from heaven*, also man. He accordingly acknowledges this by his own appellation of himself, *the Son of Man*, and in that nature he was promised first to Eve as *the Seed of Woman*, and then to Abraham and to David; and as he was their son, so are we his brethren; and therefore *it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, for he laid not hold on the angels, but on the seed of Abraham*[y], and so became not an angel, but a man. The Apostle to the Hebrews argues, that in order to accomplish the work for which he came into the world, he must be a partaker of flesh and blood; and that to be a *merciful and faithful high priest, he must in all things be made like unto his brethren;* and St. John, in opposition to Gnostic fancies already beginning to prevail, declares, that *every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ come in the flesh, is not of God.* Our Lord himself on his resurrection was careful to prove by his eating before his disciples, and inviting them to handle him, that he had resumed his body; and the whole Gospel history shows, that he had one before, which none of those among whom he lived seem to have ever doubted. And certainly, to use Bishop Pearson's words, if the Son of God would vouchsafe to take the frailty of our

[y] Heb. ii. 14. 17.

flesh, he would not omit the nobler part the soul, without which indeed he could not be really a man. Jesus, we are told[z], *increased in wisdom and stature*, one in respect of his body, the other of his soul; wisdom belongeth not to the flesh, nor can the knowledge of God which is infinite increase. He then whose knowledge did increase together with his years, must have had a subject proper for it which is no other than a human soul. This was the seat of his finite understanding, and of his human will, which appears distinct from that of his Father, from his prayer, *Not my will but thine be done.* This soul was the object of his affections and passions, and was *exceeding sorrowful even unto death;* the spirit which on the cross he commended unto his Father; and as his death was nothing but the separation of soul and body, his life as man consisted in their union; so that he who was very God, was also "very man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." The godhead and the manhood, two whole and perfect natures, were *joined* together in one person. The word is well chosen, for it shows that the two are still distinct, not confounded by any process, blended as it were into one, and neither was converted or transubstantiated into the other; for on either supposition we should be so far from acknowledging him to be both God and man, that we should thereby profess him to be, correctly speaking, neither.

This union also was not for a temporary purpose, but "never to be divided;" for it is as man that our Lord ascended, and now sits at the right hand of God, performing continually for us the intercessory part of his sacerdotal office. St. John in his vision beheld his triumphant Lord *as the sun shineth in its strength;* and we are assured, that on the resurrection the bodies of believers will by his almighty energy be made to resemble his glorified body. His mediatorial reign indeed will terminate, St. Paul informs us, at the judgment-day, when he will resign it to his Father, the object of it being attained: yet his personal glory as Christ will never cease; and if every saint shall enjoy in the body an everlasting inheritance, much more shall he retain his glory who has earned for them this reward, and bestowed it on them.

That "he truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried,"

[z] Luke ii. 52.

follows, if it be proved that he had a proper human body. I need not say that these facts are recorded in the Gospels, and argued from in the Acts and the Epistles, and were denied only by those early heretics, the Docetæ, who maintained that his body was not real but apparent. Gnosticism in all varieties has been so long extinct, that it is known only to the students of ecclesiastical history. I should not therefore have alluded to this strange sect, which of necessity rejected the crucifixion, had it not been perpetuated in the Koran, which tells us that the Jews were mistaken when they supposed they had crucified Jesus, for God substituted for him, whom he raised to the seventh heaven, a mere resemblance of him, which seems to be the phantom of these Gnostics, though according to Mahometan commentators it was a disciple who willingly took his place, and will be rewarded hereafter by a place near his master[a].

Having thus defined the nature of our Lord, the Article concludes with stating the cause for which he united in one person his two natures; "to reconcile his Father unto us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men." We may easily believe, that it was for no inferior purpose which a mere man could accomplish, that he who was *God over all blessed for ever*, should divest himself of his glory, and *take upon him the likeness of men:* and accordingly those who deny the great object for which he came into the world, consistently deny his divinity, for the two doctrines must stand or fall together. They argue, that the only reconciliation required was that of man to God, and that as God was too kind to be angry with man, no reconciliation was needed on his part. This opinion however can only be entertained by those who consider God as exclusively love, forgetting that this description only belongs to him in his conduct towards those who are in covenant with him; with reference to those who reject the method of salvation he has devised, and disobey him, he is, as another Apostle tells us[b], *a consuming fire.* They forget that "a God" all mercy, is a God unjust, "and in endeavours to magnify his goodness, they overlook his wisdom and his

[a] Koran, iii. in Maracci's edition. [b] Heb. xii. 29.

holiness." As a righteous lawgiver and ruler, God must be considered as displeased with his guilty creatures on account of their violation of his authority, while at the same time, from the infinite benignity of his nature, he is inclined to forgiveness. But if his government be righteous, its claims in their full extent must of necessity be preserved inviolate; for the commands of God once admitted to be right, can never undergo a change, his claims can never be mitigated or lowered, because we are unwilling or have become incapable of keeping them. The question then is, not how may God be rendered kindly disposed towards the human race; but how he may extend forgiveness without injury to his other attributes. The answer is given by Christianity alone. In the cross we behold at once, in a manner unutterably awful and affecting, the holy purity of God, and his immutable justice. Thus he can be not only merciful, but *just*, in *justifying those who believe in Jesus;* and that God required to be reconciled, and himself devised the mode of reconciliation, is thus plainly asserted, *God was in*[c] [or by] *Christ reconciling the world unto himself,* which the Apostle immediately explains, *by not imputing their trespasses unto them.* He then proceeds to say, *Be ye reconciled to God,* (a work from the corruption of our nature no less required, and which can only be accomplished by the Holy Spirit,) *for he hath made him who knew no sin to be sin for us*[d]*;* and, *If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his son.* This reconciliation the reasoning shows must be of God; but as Unitarians cavil at the word, I add, that the same doctrine is conveyed by all those passages that speak of God's being pacified, propitiated, and having his anger turned away. This reconciliation is called atonement in the only place in which it occurs[e] in the New Testament καταλλαγὴ, and reconcile, and be reconciled, is the translation of the corresponding verb; and this is the orignal meaning of that term which is to make at one[f] those who were at variance, and are sometimes collo-

[c] 2 Cor. v. 18. [d] Rom. v. 10. [e] Rom. v. 11.

[f] ——— He seeks to make atonement
Between the Duke of Gloucester and your brother.
Richard III. act i. sc. 3.

quially said to be two. It is common in the Old Testament, where it is rendered in Greek ἐξιλάσασθαι. Atonement properly means this reconciliation: but is often in theological works taken for the satisfaction rendered to God by Christ. In the Old Testament it answers to propitiation. It is to be considered then as a fixed principle, that sin must be punished; and that if the sinner be pardoned, it must be in a way that marks and proclaims the evil of the offence; this is effected by substitution of one partaking of the same nature, and himself innocent, which as far as we can judge could not be effected in any other way. There are divines firmly persuaded of the doctrine, who regard it presumptuous to go so far, and who think it more becoming to say that God hath chosen this way; yet the Apostle, who argues, that it was *impossible* that the *blood of bulls and of goats, could take away sin*, shows the necessity of this; and declares that *it became* God *to make the Captain of our salvation perfect through sufferings:* nor is it easy to conceive how it could *become* God to purchase our redemption at this price, if any lower one could be availing. Under the Mosaic system, not devised by man but revealed by God, we know that *without shedding of blood there is no remission.* The Deity was worshipped on the mercy seat, or propitiatory, which was to be sprinkled with blood by the High Priest: and all the offerings it prescribed, in themselves utterly worthless, derived their value from being figures of the only real sacrifice, which was in the fulness of time to be offered up by him, who was at once the victim and the priest. Thus God's method of justifying *was witnessed by the Law*[g], which in this, as in other respects, was a *Schoolmaster;* and is implied, and sometimes clearly announced by the Prophets, especially in Isaiah's memorable description of the *Man of sorrows*[h]. This is the only rational mode of accounting for the origin of animal sacrifice, and the prevalence of so extraordinary a mode of worship in all false religions, the characteristic of which, in contradiction of the Unitarian fancy that God requires no reconciliation, seems to have ever been the necessity of appeasing an offended Deity. Certainly

[g] Rom. v. 20. [h] Isaiah liii.

the doctrine pervades the New Testament. He who was appointed to prepare the way of our Lord, pointing him out to his own disciples in sacrificial language as *the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world;* and the fact announced before by Christ himself, is most emphatically made an essential part of the commemoration he has instituted of his death; *this is my blood of the new Covenant which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* There is scarcely a book of the New Testament in which it may not be found; and the Epistle to the Hebrews may be considered as an inspired exposition of his priestly character, which unless he had had something to offer could never have been sustained. We may therefore rest satisfied, that the death of Christ was a real sacrifice; and a propitiation not only for original sin, that of Adam; but also for actual, that is, the personal transgressions of his descendants. *He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* This language certainly seems favourable to the doctrine of *universal* as opposed to *particular* redemption, and the wording of the Article, "[all] actual sins of men," and still more the 31st Article, "the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual," seem to assert that doctrine. It is argued, however, that though *sufficient* for all, it will be *effectual* only to some; and that this will be found true in fact, (whether we adopt the Calvinistic or Arminian mode of explaining it, that is, whether we ascribe it to a divine decree, or the fault of men,) cannot be questioned by any who believe in the eternity of future punishment, which is too plainly revealed to be explained away; but a more convenient opportunity will be afforded in the ninth and following Articles, of considering the extent and application of the remedy.

In almost every country and subject, versification has been employed to fix upon the memory facts and precepts, which it is important to retain. Thus in latin and arabic, the rules of grammar have been arranged in familiar metre; and I will close this Lecture on this fundamental and vital doctrine, the nature of our blessed Lord, with a sacred poem from the

Olney hymns, which though inferior as a composition to many by that experienced believer the Editor, and still more to the poetical strains of his more highly gifted associate, will be highly valued as a sound epitome of the doctrine of salvation, to all who love the truth *as it is in Jesus.*

What think you of Christ? is the test
To try both your state and your scheme:
You cannot be right in the rest,
Unless you think rightly of Him.

Some take him a creature to be,
A man—or an angel at most;
Sure these have not feelings like me,
Nor know themselves wretched and lost.
So guilty, so helpless am I,
I durst not confide in his blood,
Nor on his protection rely,
Unless I were sure he was God.

Some call him a Saviour, in word,
But mix their own works with his plan,
And hope, he his help will afford,
When they have done all that they can:
If doings prove rather too light,
A little they own they may fail,
They purpose to make up full weight,
By casting his name in the scale.

Some style him the pearl of great price,
And say he's the fountain of joys,
Yet feed upon folly and vice,
And cleave to the world and its toys:
Like Judas, the Saviour they kiss,
And while they salute him, betray;
Ah! what will profession like this
Avail in the terrible day?

If asked, what of Jesus I think,
Though still my best thoughts are but poor,
I say, he's my meat, and my drink,
My life, and my strength, and my store;
My Shepherd, my Husband, my Friend,
My Saviour from sin and from thrall,
My hope from beginning to end,
My portion, my Lord, and my All.

LECTURE III.

ARTICLE III.

OF THE GOING DOWN OF CHRIST INTO HELL.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

It appears extraordinary, that we should have an Article upon the descent into hell; and certainly it is superfluous, for it only affirms the fact maintained in the Apostles' creed, which another Article declares ought to be received and believed. It might partly be introduced to render complete our declarations concerning our Saviour; for in the preceding Article we have the leading doctrines enumerated, from his eternal generation to his burial; and in the following, his resurrection and ascension. As it now stands it only asserts the fact, and we are at liberty to affix our own meaning upon the words. In the original Article it could only have been conscientiously subscribed by those who believed both that the Spirit of Christ, between his death and resurrection, preached to the spirits in prison, and also that the doctrine was affirmed by St. Peter[a], for it originally continued thus: "For his body lay in the grave till his resurrection, but his soul being separate from his body remained with the spirits which were detained in prison, that is to say, in hell, and there preached unto them." The passage is confessedly obscure, and many modern commentators refer it altogether to the antediluvian world. This interpretation Bishop Pearson pronounces evident, because

[a] 1 Pet. iii. 19.

Christ is said to have preached by the same spirit by which he was himself raised from the dead, which therefore must have been one of more power than his human soul. He adds, that his preaching was to those who had been disobedient, and before the flood, and that he preached not in person, but through the ministry of Noah. Augustin, he tells us, was staggered by the difficulties of the old interpretation: notwithstanding it has been the received opinion, and consequently this portion of Scripture was selected for the epistle of Easter Eve. And it seems to me to be the true one, for I understand that it was at the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, that our Lord himself *went* and preached immediately after his death, to the spirits of the deceased, then in the prison of Hades. The Bishop's interpretation appears to me to be confuted by *went*, which directs us to a personal agency, and it is less in harmony with the following passage; *For, for this cause the Gospel was preached also to them that are dead*[b].

The original Article shows plainly the sense in which this descent was understood at the time; and it is thus explained in the short Catechism, put forth by the King's authority the following year. "Then he truly died, and was truly buried, that by his most sweet sacrifice he might pacify his Father's wrath against mankind, and subdue him by his death who had the authority of death, which was the Devil; forasmuch not only the living but the dead, were they in hell or elsewhere, they all felt the power and force of his death, to whom lying in prison, (as Peter saith,) Christ preached, though dead in body, yet relived in spirit." Archbishop Parker was probably induced to omit the concluding clause, which fixed its meaning, by a paper prepared for the Synod of 1562, by the Bishop of Exeter, in which he says that there have been great invectives in his diocese between preachers on this Article, some holding that the going down of Christ to hell was nothing else but that the virtue and strength of his death should be made known to them that were dead before; others maintaining that it only means, he sustained upon the cross the infernal pains of hell, when he

[b] 1 Pet. iv. 6.

cried out, *Why hast thou forsaken me?* Finally, there are persons who preach, that this Article is not contained in other symbols: and all these sayings they ground upon Erasmus, and the Germans, especially Calvin and Bullinger; the contrary side bringing forward in their support the universal consent of the Fathers of both Churches[c].

It was certainly judicious to omit the reference to Peter's Epistle, which would commit the Church to a doubtful sense of a text, and it is contrary to the principle of Articles which ought to be dogmatical, leaving the proofs to commentators who do not write with authority. For the doctrine may be true, and its supporters mistaken in the texts which they bring forward to prove it. The fact itself cannot be denied by any who believe the Scriptures. Voltaire says it is not mentioned in the Gospels or in the Acts. In the first, it could hardly have been expected; but it is mentioned in the latter, not it is true in the narrative, yet by St. Peter as the authoritative application of a prophecy; *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption*[d]*;* and it is upon this text that the doctrine chiefly rests. It has been so universally received, that Augustin exclaims, "Who but an infidel ever denied that Christ had been in hell[e];" and all men, observes Bellarmine, agree, that Christ descended into hell, though they differ as to the meaning. The subject in England has been much discussed soon after the first Articles were agreed upon in 1566, and afterwards in 1597, when Bilson Bishop of Winchester maintained, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, that Christ descended to the lowest hell, there to triumph over Satan in his own dominions. "But why," says Bishop Pearson, "should he descend to hell to triumph there over them over whom he had already triumphed on the cross? why should he go to lead captive those, which he was to captivate when he ascended into heaven? and as to the testimonies of the Fathers, they

[c] Strype's Annals, i. c. 31. and Life of Parker, i. 513. In 1567, Lord Burleigh thanks the Archbishop for his care in appeasing the unprofitable controversy then newly raised upon the descent of Christ into hell.

[d] Acts ii. 24—31. [e] De Christo, iv. 6.

will appear of small validity to confirm the triumphant descent, as it is distinguished from the two effects which we have seen fit not to admit, the removal of the saints to heaven, and the delivering the damned from the torments of hell." Archbishop Whitgift, till convinced by Broughton, had been of Calvin's opinion, that it was to be taken metaphorically for Christ's enduring in his soul the pains of hell upon the cross, when forsaken of his Father. Some even, among whom was Latimer, maintained, that he endured them in hell itself, literally undergoing them as the substitute of sinners, that he might pay the whole penalty of sin; an opinion not held by his original editor, who adds a marginal note to one of his sermons, "bear with Father Latimer in this." We know the moderation of the other revisers of the Articles, and their wish for as comprehensive union as practicable: and therefore we may readily conceive why they struck out the quotation from St. Peter, and left this subordinate question open to private judgment. Those who used it in this sense had influence enough to procure the omission of the conclusion of the Article, which has a tendency, sometimes an unconscious one, to wrest Scripture from its obvious meaning to another more in harmony with our preconceived notions. Augustine, notwithstanding his remark, probably had not this Article in his own creed, since he omits it when explaining the others; and it does not occur in the most ancient we have, those of Irenæus and Tertullian. St. Paul when rehearsing[f] the chief articles of the Gospel which he had preached to the Corinthians, and which he declared would suffice to their salvation, passes over this tenet, though he enumerates the death, burial, and resurrection. The words are ambiguous, for strange as it may seem to the unlearned, *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell*, has, and may be translated, *Thou wilt not leave my body in the grave:* ψυχὴ properly means the animal soul as distinguished from πνεῦμα, the spirit, but is applied to a dead body in the Septuagint[g]; and Ἅιδης, Hades, is the habitation of men after death. That of the body is the *grave;* unhappily in modern English the habitation of a soul has no name; for hell,

[f] 1 Cor. xv.

[g] Lev. xx. 1, 11. Numb. v. 2. vi. 6.

which had that meaning originally, is now taken exclusively for Gehenna, the place of future punishment. In our version it answers to both; thus we have hell for Gehenna, God *is able to destroy body and soul in hell*[h]; and for Hades, *hell delivered up her dead*, and that is the hell in which the rich man suffered in the parable[i]. Hell is derived from the Saxon word, to hide, or cover; and Hades has a similar meaning, being contracted from Ἀΐδιος, invisible. This is properly the abode of all departed spirits, whether good or bad, who have their respective mansions, in which they remain in a state of consciousness till the day of judgment, which they may be said already to anticipate; for though the wicked will not be cast into Gehenna till then, when they shall be reunited to their bodies, they now suffer being in torments, as we are taught by the parable[k]. Hell in the modern sense of the word it could not be into which our Lord descended, since it is Hades, in the earliest Creed in which the doctrine occurs, quoted by Eusebius, who translated it from the Syriac, as that by Thaddæus at Edessa; and in Cyril of Jerusalem's Creed, it is κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, to which the Latin ad inferna corresponds. This opinion is also overturned by our Saviour's reply to the penitent thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, a term by which, as well as by *Abraham's bosom*, the Jews distinguished the division of Hades which was the abode of the blessed spirits. And Calvin's notion, that our Lord might be said figuratively to descend into hell, because he suffered the pains of hell in his soul, is not only a harsh and forced interpretation, but is confuted by St. Peter in the passage on which the

[h] Luke xii. 5.

[i] Rev. xx. 13.

[k] Our translators have increased the perplexity, by their uncertainty; thus they translate, 1 Cor. xv. 55. *O grave, where is thy victory*, placing hell in the margin. *The gates of hell shall not prevail*, is our version in the New Testament, Matt. xvi. 18. whereas in Isaiah, xxxviii. 10. the same words are rendered *the gates of the grave*. In Psalm lxxxix. 48. we have grave in the Bible, and hell in the Prayer Book version. We may also compare Prov. xxx. 16, where one of the four things never satisfied is the grave, with Prov. xxvii. 20. *Hell and destruction are never full.* And this strongly shows the want of critical accuracy in the same translator.

doctrine mainly rests; for when he says that God *would not leave his soul in hell*, he evidently speaks of what happened after our Lord's death and burial. The opinion, that it means no more than that his body was buried, is more plausible, for we have seen that the words will bear this translation; and it is urged, that when one article is inserted in a Creed, the other is omitted; thus our Nicene has the burial and not the descent, and the Athanasian the descent and not the burial. Rufinus mentions it as in that of his own Church Aquileia, but not then in the Roman, into which it seems afterwards to have been introduced from the Athanasian. Burnet speaks as if Rufinus himself confounded these two articles: he however expressly tells us, that he considered them as distinct events, only he thought, that when any Church which had the descent omitted the burial, it was because *that Church* confounded the two. The Bishop mentions three senses. 1. Going to preach to the spirits in prison; 2. burial; 3. and the descent into the place of departed spirits; and thinks a person may subscribe in any of them; yet surely he could not in the second, as that would annihilate the Article which says, *as* Christ was buried, *so also* he went down into hell. This Article was omitted by the American Episcopal Clergy on their revision of the Prayer Book.

Much of the perplexity on the subject is occasioned by the ambiguity of language. Infernum in the Latin Church came gradually to mean the place of torment. But this misconception could not prevail where the Greek language was in use, for Hades still retains the sense it bears alike in the Septuagint, and in classical authors. The gates of hell used by our Lord in speaking of the permanence of his Church, is an expression put long before by Homer into the mouth of Achilles[q]; and the Hades both of the poet and of the parable includes in different divisions the good and the

[q] Πύλαι Ἅιδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς. Matt. xvi. 18.

Ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
Ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ. Iliad. ix. 312.
Who dares think one thing and another tell,
My soul abhors him as the gates of hell.

wicked. In the Revelation, when our Lord declares[r] that he has *the keys of hell and of death*, he refers to places that are in due time to be opened; and at the close of the book[s] we read, that *death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them*, and were themselves *cast into the lake of fire;* that is, henceforward after the judgment, all will be translated into an eternal unchangeable stage of bliss or woe. Irenæus tells us[t], that as our Master did not ascend to heaven immediately, but waited the time appointed by his Father, so must we also wait the time of our resurrection; and the opinion now so prevalent among Protestants, if we may judge from their ordinary language, that those who die in the Lord go at once to heaven, was regarded as so serious an error by Justin Martyr, that he will not allow to those who believed it the title of Christians. Tertullian holds the same language, for it was Ambrose[u] who first introduced into the west Origen's opinion, that the souls of the patriarchs and other saints went to Hades on their decease, where they remained in a state of imperfect happiness till the arrival of our Saviour's separated soul, when he brake their bonds, and triumphantly at his resurrection took them with himself to heaven, into which the souls of all who are saved now immediately go. The Roman Catholic doctrine, which sends even those who depart in the faith into purgatory, is more modern; yet even their divines make an exception in favour of infants dying after baptism before they can commit sin, of martyrs, and of saints. To me the doctrine of those early writers Justin Martyr and Irenæus appears to be that of the Scriptures; and if it be, it demolishes at once the propriety of prayer to those who do not already enjoy the beatific vision, and whose happiness is not complete, since as yet our incarnate Lord is the only partaker of our flesh and blood who is in heaven. The contrary doctrine is indeed affirmed in the third part of the Homily concerning prayer, but our approval of these discourses does not pledge us to every tenet, or to every fact they contain. Several of our reformers, as Tyndall and Frith, both martyrs for the faith, declare against it as a

[r] Rev. i. 18. [s] Rev. xx. 13. [t] Iren. v. 31. [u] De Fide et Gratian. iv. 1.

tenet of heathen philosophers; and the former asks this pertinent question, "tell me if their souls be in heaven, why they should not be in as good case as the angels, and then what cause is there for the resurrection?" He considers also that it destroys Christ's argument for the resurrection of the body, from the declaration, *I am the God of Abraham*, &c.

Homer in the opening of the Iliad[x], speaking of dead warriors, marks death by the separation of the two parts of man's compound being, giving the body to dogs and birds of prey, and assigning the soul to Hades. And it is this separation which I understand the Article to affirm, meaning thereby no more than that he actually died. In the same manner, I believe we shall at our death descend, that is, our disembodied spirits, to Hades, and remain in a state of consciousness, where those who are hereafter to rise to glory are in a state of great though still imperfect enjoyment. The principal reason for introducing this Article into the Creed was, the guarding against the doctrine of Apollinarius, who believed that our Lord assumed only a human *body*, and that the place of the soul was supplied by his divinity. He was anathematized by the second Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, and it occurs, it is true, before that time in an Arian Creed, and is commented upon by Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem, but first appeared in a *public* authorized Creed, as mentioned by Rufinus, in that of the Church of Aquileia[y].

[x] Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
Ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δ' ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
Οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι. Iliad. i. 3.
Many brave souls to hell untimely sent
Of heroes; and themselves to dogs a prey
And all the birds.

[y] Matt. xvi. 18.

LECTURE IV.

ARTICLE IV.

OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature; wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all men at the last day.

This Article continues our Lord's history, and asserts, 1. his resurrection; 2. his ascension; 3. his sitting now at the right hand of God; and, 4. his future coming to judgment. It would have been unbecoming to have closed the statement of our belief in him with his humiliation, and not to have proceeded to his exaltation, though this Article is not in conformity with our definition, that it ought to be directed not against infidels, but against Christians who, acknowledging the *authority* of Scripture, *interpret* it differently from ourselves. With them on these topics can be no discussion; for however they may differ as to the nature of Christ, and the object of his mission, none in modern times have called in question these fundamental truths; and indeed the name of Christian cannot be conceded to one who denies them; for the Apostle's declaration is self-evident; that if Christ be not risen, then is his preaching and our faith vain, we should be yet in our sins[a]. Happily we have sufficient evidence, though not over-

[a] 1 Cor. xv.

powering and irresistible, that *as he was delivered for our offences, so he rose again for our justification*[b]. By his death we know he suffered for sin; by his resurrection we are assured that the sins for which he suffered were not his own; had no man been a sinner, he would not have died; had He been a sinner, he would not have risen again; but dying for those sins which men had committed, he rose to show that he had made full satisfaction for them, being by his resurrection *declared*, or proved to be, *the son of God with power*[c]. His death assures us of his humanity, this event of his divinity. By his resurrection his Father is said *to have begotten him*[d]; and thereby he also hath begotten believers, who are called brethren, and co-heirs with Christ. We are the members of that body of which Christ is the head[e]; and if the Holy Spirit dwell in us, as it does in all true Christians, then he *that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken our mortal bodies* by his Spirit dwelling in us; for, *as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive:* and hence our comfort is, that his resurrection is the evidence and pattern of our own; *If we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection*[f]. Let us ever remember the Apostle's inference, as *Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so should we walk in newness of life.* As might be expected, this fundamental fact, upon which our whole religion rests, is narrated by all the Evangelists; is the great subject of the Apostle's preaching; and is taken for granted and made the basis of reasoning and exhortation in the Epistles. None of his followers were present at it; and we know not the precise hour at which he burst these bonds of death, which it was impossible should detain him; but he by *infallible proofs* convinced the disciples of the reality of the event, *being seen of them* for no less a time than *forty days, and speaking to them of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.* The following appearances are recorded:

1. On the resurrection-day, to the women; to Peter; to

[b] Rom. iv. [c] Rom. i. 4. [d] Psalm ii. quoted in the Acts; 1 Pet. i. 3.
[e] Rom. viii. [f] Rom. vi.

the two disciples walking to Emmaus; and to the whole company, when assembled at their evening meal, when he ate before them. He now left them to consider the proofs he had given them of his resurrection, particularly the fulfilment of the prophecies, that he should suffer, and on the third day rise from the dead.

2. On the following Sunday, when he again appeared to them all, including Thomas, who before was absent, and refused to believe on their report, but was now convinced by the offer of the very test he had himself required, of the bodily appearance of his Master.

3. At the lake of Galilee to seven, when he granted them, as at the opening of his ministry, a miraculous draught of fishes.

4. At the mountain in Galilee, which seems to be the appearance mentioned by St. Paul[g] to five hundred brethren at once, many of whom were, when he wrote, alive.

5. To James, mentioned only in the same chapter. And,

6. To the whole company, when he led them out to the mount of Olives, previous to his Ascension.

To these we may add his appearance after the Resurrection, to Stephen, to Paul, and to John in Patmos.

No others are specified, perhaps, because, as West on the Resurrection suggests, these answered the purpose of their conviction, and are enough for our's; the other which occurred during the forty days, were for their instruction in the faith.

It has been objected, that the resurrection was attested only by interested persons; and Peter allows[h], *that God shewed him openly, not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen before of him.* It is therefore of the more importance that we should be satisfied with their credibility; and to establish it, we are to show, 1. that *they were not themselves deceived;* and, 2. that they did not *intend* to deceive others.

1. The fact was obviously one of which they were able to judge; the appearances were frequent, and to many at once, and were not momentary, but the Lord suffered

[g] 1 Cor. xv. [h] Acts x.

them to touch him, and ate and conversed with them. They were not enthusiasts, and the event was contrary to their preconceived notions; and the narrative shows that they were slow of heart to believe, first that our Lord would suffer, and then that he would triumph over the grave. Nor were the witnesses so few as infidels represent. On one occasion ten persons were present, at another eleven, at one five hundred. Most of the extraordinary and inexplicable tales of supernatural appearances, in which illusion may be supposed to have taken place, are reported to have been seen by a single person; it would be difficult to find an instance in which two unexceptionable witnesses have testified to the same illusion, and when we raise the number to eleven, the improbability becomes incalculable. It is also enhanced beyond measure, by the repetition of the fact in so many instances, to so many persons together, with all the circumstances by which it was attended. But when we remember that Christ not only appeared, but ate and drank, walked and conversed with them, through forty days, the improbability changes into impossibility, for they had all the evidence that they could have that he was living, and which they had of the life of each other.

The simplicity and artlessness of their character places them beyond every reasonable suspicion of intentional deception, and they could, if so inclined, have had no adequate temptation to attempt to impose upon the world, since a report so extraordinary had no chance of being received. Such a story if false would certainly not be credited now, though liable to no other objections than those which arise out of itself; but then the Jews were called upon to acknowledge as the Messiah one whom they had put to death as a blasphemer, and to sacrifice their hopes of earthly power and glory. The Apostles knew, that in the attempt they must undergo contempt and sufferings; and as they gained nothing in this world, so if impostors they could expect nothing in the next but to endure the wrath of God.

If Christ were not raised from the dead, the report could

have been immediately disproved by the exhibition of his body. Why was it not then produced? The Jews indeed said, the only thing that they could say, that his disciples had stolen it; but how was this practicable? they had themselves provided the strongest evidence against their own story, for they had sealed the sepulchre and set a watch, not less probably than sixty men; the disciples were few, friendless, and discouraged, in hourly expectation of arrest, and when they ventured to assemble, fastened the doors, for fear of the Jews. The time was the passover, when the town was crowded, and there was a full moon, and therefore light, and the tomb was just without the walls, and exposed to continual inspection. Could the whole guard be sleeping, and if sleeping could they be competent witnesses of what happened? and why were they not examined, and all the Apostles seized and imprisoned till they should give up the body? But the Sanhedrim did not themselves believe the story to which they endeavoured to give currency; for when the Apostles were brought before them twice, and boldly declared that him whom they had put to death God had raised, they did not venture to make this charge.

It is however an objection as old as Celsus, that Jesus ought to have publicly shown himself as the Messiah; Origen answers, that as the pure in heart only can see God, this was a privilege of which the nation was not worthy, and which could not with propriety have been granted. Bishop Sherlock also suggests, that our Lord took a solemn leave of the Jews when he quitted the temple, telling them that they should see him no more till they should welcome him as the Messiah: and that after his resurrection he opened a new Commission addressed to the world at large, and that once opened, all preference of them was at an end. Modern infidels have required even more than this; they ask that demonstration should be afforded to all countries and all ages: but they misconceive the nature of the case, for such evidence would be irresistible, and belief would be swallowed up in certainty. We are to walk not by sight but by faith; the Apostles indeed, who were to be witnesses to the world, had this evidence; and so

indispensable was it, that the Apostle of the Gentiles, who was added to the number after our Lord's ascension, was favoured with the sight of him in glory; and he appeals to this fact as a test of his Apostleship, *Am not I an Apostle, have I not seen the Lord?* but our conviction does not rest merely on their words as honest credible witnesses. We have also the witness of God, as our Saviour himself said, *the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me;* and this he did by the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost, only ten days after the ascension, when Christ *received gifts for men.* It was to this evidence that Peter appeals in his speech on that memorable day, *being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear;* that is, the gift of tongues: and all the subsequent miracles which the Apostles worked are a confirmation of the reality of this event. The same evidence establishes also the Ascension. The Apostles would never have proclaimed the Gospel, had they not been endued with power from above; this power they would not have received, if the Holy Ghost had not descended upon them; and the Holy Ghost would not have descended, except our Saviour had ascended first. *If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you.* The Apostles did not see Christ when he arose; it was sufficient that they afterwards saw him alive whom they knew to have been put to death; for whatsoever was a proof of his life after death, was a proof of course of his resurrection; but as they were not to see him in heaven, it was necessary they should be eye-witnesses of the act, as they were not to behold the effect: they were therefore all present at the ascension.

Our Article maintains, that our Lord rose, and ascended with the same body in which he was incarnate; "with flesh, bones, and all things pertaining to the perfection of man's nature." The idea of his having flesh and bones in heaven, has been condemned in two Councils; and many Christians seem to think that he has now only an apparent body: yet he evidently took pains to convince his disciples that it was

a real one, by eating, and by inviting them to handle it; and with good reason, since it is only because *his* body rose again, that we have reason to believe there will be a resurrection of *our own*. They urge, however, that he forbad Mary Magdalene to touch him; but the meaning seems to be, you need not detain me now, for as I have not yet ascended, you will have other opportunities of seeing me. That it was for no mysterious reason appears from the fact, that immediately after he suffered the embraces of the other Mary and of Salome. But it is presumed that he had now a spiritual body, because he entered a room, the doors of which had been fastened. The phrase ἄφαντος ἐγένετο, however, means no more than that he ceased to be seen, as it is rendered in the margin: and it is used in other writers where nothing supernatural is intended[i]. As plausibly might it be urged that he had never a real body; for when at Nazareth, the irritated multitude would have thrown him down a precipice, he went through the midst of them unseen.

Still it is asserted, that such a body as ours cannot ascend, and that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; but though we maintain that it is the same identical body, we do not affirm that it has undergone no alteration; it may be, in the act of ascending; on the contrary, we believe that it has been so far changed, as to suit it for its present abode; and this Scripture teaches, when it says of our own, that it *has been sown a natural*, that *it will be raised a spiritual body;* and that he shall *change our vile body*, that it may *be fashioned like unto his glorious body*[k]. We may presume that the transfiguration was an exhibition by anticipation, both of his appearance and of ours, if we are counted worthy of admission into his presence, for when we see him, *we shall be like him*. There is therefore "a man in heaven," the *Adam from above;* acting both as our intercessor and as our sovereign; *for all*

[i] The word is often used of those who in a way, and especially *abruptly* or *suddenly*, withdraw, and are no longer visible. Blomfield's Receptio Synoptica. He produces several examples in prose as well as in poetry, as Ἐνθὰ καὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην ἁρπασθέντα ἀφανὴ γενέσθαι λόγος. Herodian i. 1. ὃ.

[k] Phil. iii. 21.

power is given unto him, and his sitting on the right hand of God implies his administration of the universe. This was foretold of him by David, *Jehovah said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand till I make thy enemies thy footstool;* affirmed by himself on his trial, and urged in the epistle, *When he had by himself purged our sins, he sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high*[1]. But when he appeared to Stephen he was standing, to show the exertion of power, as rising for his protection. From thence he will come as our judge; so the angels assured the Apostles as they were gazing after him; *this same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven;* and he himself has taught us, that *he shall come in his kingdom in the glory of his Father,* and that the office of judgment has been assigned to him, *because he is the son of man.* It is needless to accumulate texts to prove a doctrine which is, as might be expected, brought before us in every part of the New Testament, as a tenet to be embraced, and to influence our conduct; that as we look for the *glorious appearing* of him who is at once *our Saviour,* and *our great God; we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.* He is to judge the quick and dead; the former, meaning those whom the Apostle to the Thessalonians says, *shall be alive and remain to the coming of the Lord.* We must all *appear at his judgment*[m]; and more need not be said, for all who believe a judgment will allow it to be universal. The Article is not contradictory to the Creed, the former extends only to the judgment-day, the latter, "of whose kingdom there shall be no end," to the eternity that follows it; then, indeed, cometh the end of Christ's mediatorial office; as Prophet, he will no longer instruct; as Priest, he will no longer intercede; as King, he will no longer protect; yet his humanity will still enjoy the rewards of his sufferings and obedience, and as God the Son, he shall reign for ever and ever with his Father.

[1] Heb. i. 3. viii. 1; Rom. viii. 34; 1 Pet. iii. 22. [m] 2 Cor. v.

LECTURE V.

ARTICLE V.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

It must have been thought at the revision in 1562, that a separate acknowledgment of the Holy Ghost was required: and this was then introduced from the Wurtemburg Confession, none such occurring in that of Augsburg, which was seemingly the reason why there is none in the original edition of our Articles. It is very brief, affirming merely the procession, divinity, and equality with the Father and the Son of the third Person of the ever-blessed Trinity; passing over altogether both his ordinary and extraordinary gifts, and his part in the work of salvation, by delivering the believer from the power of sin, the guilt of which the second Person had cancelled, and qualifying him by sanctification for *the inheritance of the saints in light.*

There is sufficient evidence, that the Holy Ghost is a person, distinct from the Father and the Son, not a creature; but the proofs are not so numerous as for the distinction of the Son from the Father, for an obvious reason. The second Person became man, and lived above thirty years a public and conspicuous life, among multitudes, whom his teaching and miracles attracted to him. His existence separate from the Father was perceived by all, and could not be disputed: but the Holy Spirit hath never rendered

himself visible, being manifested only by his operations; and his ordinary ones, with which alone we are experimentally acquainted, are hardly to be distinguished, if at all, from the workings of our own minds. Not but that their importance is inestimable; for were it not for his preventing, restraining, and cooperating grace, were it not for his regenerating, renewing, and sanctifying agency, creation would have been not a blessing but a curse, and redemption but a name; for what are the merits of Christ and the salvation wrought out by him to us, till applied by the Spirit. That God *will write his laws in our hearts*, that is, give us the desire to keep them, is the promise of the New Covenant, which therefore from the greater effusion of his holy influence, both as to person and degree, is called the dispensation of the Spirit. Thus in our Catechism the distinction between the offices of the three Persons is accurately marked. The Father who creates, the Son who redeems, the Holy Ghost who sanctifies. As we shall state more at length hereafter, the original corruption of our nature, and the method of our renewal, and our deliverance from its consequences, render the influence of the Spirit indispensable, not only to our commencing the Christian course, but to every step we take in it: and as he is the author of all good desires, he may be called with a reference to his effects on us, as well as to distinguish him from other spiritual beings, the Holy Spirit.

Language from its nature can have no proper terms for invisible beings, or for the acts of the understanding, or the feelings of the heart. We can only speak of them figuratively, that is, by transferring to them words which primarily apply to objects and operations that fall under the cognizance of some of the senses. Thus the Hebrew רוּח Ruah, the Greek Πνεῦμα, and the Latin Spiritus, originally meant air in motion, that is, wind; and Ghost in old English, as Geist in German, which we have corrupted into gas, and use to distinguish the factitious airs of Chemistry from that of the atmosphere, is synonymous. But in this, as in many other instances, the secondary sense has overcome the primary one, though it is still retained in the phrase, 'give up the ghost,' a literal translation of ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα, and

ἐξεπνεῦσεν, sent forth his spirit, is equivalent to our expired, since as we live by breathing, the words were soon extended to that living part of us which animates and directs the body, that is, the soul. By analogy it is transferred to invisible and incorporeal beings, as to angels, and ultimately to God. Thus our Saviour says, that *God is a Spirit*, speaking of the Deity as contradistinguished from man, without any reference to his personal distinctions.

The Spirit of God is used for his power or energy in action, as Word is for his wisdom in declaring his will; but as the latter is not like our speech of a momentary existence, but permanent, so is the former; and as, to give us some idea though faint of the difference of the latter from the Father, he is called a Son, and generation is predicated of him; so spiration, procession, or going forth, which is the scriptural term, has been considered most appropriate to the former.

The early heretics maintained, that the Holy Ghost was a creature subordinate to the Son; modern Anti-trinitarians confound him with the Father, denying his separate existence. The divinity of the Spirit therefore may be said to be allowed as much as the humanity of the son; the discussion here then is the reverse of the former; we have only to show the separate existence of the Spirit; and this is perhaps the most effectually done by the texts, which prove the Trinity, for to pray that blessings may proceed from the three, if they be really but one, or at the most two persons, or to be baptized into the name of the Father, a human teacher, and an attribute, would be a revolting absurdity, and if the Spirit be taken for the Father, it is unmeaning tautology. Our opponents resolve the whole into a rhetorical personification. The Holy Ghost, say they, is no more a person than charity or sin, *Charity suffereth long and is kind*, that is, the charitable man; *sin*, that is sinful inclinations, *slew me*[a]. They urge that in like manner, what is said to be done by the Spirit is really done by an inspired man[b], or by God himself, whose spirit or energy is personified. We grant that some passages may bear either sense; and that the Holy Ghost is often put for

[a] Rom. vii. [b] Acts x. 19.

the effects he produces. Thus, *My Father will give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him*[c]. *Have you received the Holy Ghost since ye believed*[d]; and in this sense he is said *to be given, shed abroad, extinguished:* still after making all allowances, a sufficient number of texts will remain, to satisfy us of his personality; for actions are ascribed to him, which cannot be ascribed to the Father, or to the Son; for our Lord says, when the *Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father;* but God the Father is always named in the gospel economy, not as sent, but as sending; and the expression, from the Father, confutes any such supposition. Intercession also is not made *by* the Father, but *to* him by the Son our advocate in heaven, and by the Holy Spirit our advocate below, who *itself maketh intercession for us*[e]. And he who proceedeth from the Father cannot be the Father. In the same way we may show, (though it is not so necessary,) that the Holy Ghost is distinct from the Son, because our Lord said of him, *He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you.* The Apostle teaches us, that *through the Son we have access by one Spirit unto the Father,* consequently assuring us, that the Spirit *by* whom, is not the Father *to* whom, nor the Son *through* whom, we have this access. His personality is marked by the use of the masculine pronoun, though the noun in the original is neuter. The Scriptures assign personal offices to the Spirit, which we have already mentioned: 1. sending: 2. interceding: 3. speaking; *He shall not speak of himself,* &c.[f] 4. guiding; *He will guide you into all the truth. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God*[g]: 5. helping; *the Spirit helpeth our infirmities*[h]: 6. testifying; *The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits*[i]: 7. revealing; *As it is now revealed to his holy prophets and apostles by the Spirit*[k]. *He shall show you things to come*[l]; *Now the Spirit speaketh expressly*[m]: and, 8. his own especial work, sanctification: and this is expressly declared in our Lord's last discourse, in which he promises him as a second advocate, who will more than supply his own place, a declaration which

[c] Luke xi. [d] Acts xix. 2. [e] Rom. viii. 26. [f] John xvi. 13.
[g] Rom. viii. 14. [h] Rom. viii. 26. [i] Rom. viii. 16. [k] Eph. iii. 5.
[l] John xvi. 13. [m] 1 Tim. iv. 1.

ought to be decisive. Finally, he communicates the ordinary and the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, as they are for this very reason called, and after enumerating some, the Apostle adds[n], *All these worketh one and the same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will;* thus strongly, by referring to his volition, affirming his personality. As the Gospel is the dispensation of the Spirit, it is his peculiar office to prepare and consecrate those who are to proclaim and enforce it; accordingly when it was first to be preached to proselytes, the Spirit instructed Philip to join himself unto the Ethiopian descendant of Ham, and when the first fruits of the Gentiles of the progeny of Japheth, Cornelius, was to be received into the Church, it was the Spirit that said to Peter, *Behold three men seek thee;* and the grace and the gifts conferred on him and others in baptism are ascribed to the Spirit as the agent. Thus it was the Holy Ghost that said to the prophets and teachers at Antioch, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.* In conformity with Scripture then is the candidate asked in our Ordination service, "Dost thou think thou art called by the Holy Ghost?" and justly is He invoked on that solemn occasion, and at the consecration of Bishops, since Paul declares of the Ephesian *elders*, πρεσβύτεροι, that the Holy Ghost had made them *overseers*, ἐπίσκοποι[o]: and he seems to be *the Lord of the harvest*, to whom the Saviour directs us to pray, *that he may send forth labourers into the harvest.* The Holy Ghost is moreover described as affected by the behaviour of men; as *vexed; they rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit;* and as *resisted; ye do always*, says Stephen, *resist the Holy Ghost;* and the Apostle cautions the Ephesians not to *grieve* him, and the Thessalonians not to quench him[p]. And his divinity is implied in our Lord's awful declaration, that reviling him should never be pardoned, which we cannot conceive if he were only a creature, since the reviling even of the Saviour in his incarnate nature, as the Son of man, might be remitted. Finally, the name of *God* is actually given to him. Thus Peter having said to Ananias, *Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost?* he immediately adds, *thou*

[n] 1 Cor. xii. 8. [o] Acts xiii. 4. [p] 1 Thess. v. 19.

hast not lied unto men, but unto God; and Paul by implication, *The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are*[p]. *Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost*[q]? Our Lord as man was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and the Angel says, that in consequence he shall be called the Son of *God*[r]. He is also said indifferently to have wrought his miracles by the finger of God[s], and by the Spirit of God[t]. Holy Scripture is said to be inspired by God[u], by St. Paul; and the Spirit spake through the prophets, according to St. Peter[x]. The Holy Ghost then as God is a legitimate object of worship; yet, as we have seen of the Son, he is not addressed so often as the Father; and there seems to be greater reason still why our petitions should be less frequently offered up to him, since it seems to suit better his peculiar attributes to consider him as the gift bestowed, and the Father or the Son as the giver. This is the rule in our own and in the ancient liturgies, both of the East and the West; but *pray the Lord of the harvest*, justifies the practice, for which I believe we may plead scriptural precedent. For the Lord to whom the Apostles prayed, lifting up their voices with one accord[y], seems to be the Spirit; as they say, *Thou who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage*, &c. and Peter on the day of Pentecost had thus spoken of the same passage, *This scripture must needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David*[z]. It is also inferred from the separate mention of the other persons of the Trinity in these petitions of St. Paul. *The Lord direct your hearts unto the love of God, and the patient waiting for Christ*[a]*:* and *the Lord make you increase and abound in love, to the end that he may establish your hearts in holiness before God, even the Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ:* that the Lord whom he addressed was the Spirit.

Having shown that the Holy Ghost is properly and truly God, and yet neither the Father nor the Son, it follows, that he is a distinct person in the Trinity; for though coequal and coeternal, he is *in order* subordinate to both;

[p] 1 Cor. iii. 16. [q] 1 Cor. vi. 19. [r] Luke i. 35. [s] Luke xi. 20.
[t] Matt. xii. 28. [u] 2 Tim. iii. 16. [x] 1 Peter i. 11. [y] Acts iv. 24.
[z] Acts i. 6. [a] 2 Thess. iii. 5.

for the Godhead was communicated by the Father to the Son, and by the Father and the Son to the Spirit. This joint procession, ἐκπορεύσις, is the characteristic distinction of the Western from the Eastern Church. We and other Protestants, as branches of the former, retain the addition of Filioque, 'and from the Son,' in our Creed. 'Not begotten, but proceeding,' is the definition of the Athanasian, not that we pretend to discriminate between these modes of emanation; but generation suits the idea of a Son, and the term we want for the Spirit, our Lord himself supplies. The procession from the Father is positively, that from the Son virtually, affirmed; as proceeding from the Father, he is called the *Spirit of the Father*[c]; but he is also called the *Spirit of the Son*[d], and *of Christ*[e]; and we infer that he proceedeth from the Son, for he is sent by the Father, and he is also sent by the Son. And Bishop Pearson shows that the doctrine was believed by the Greek Fathers, though they chose to keep to scriptural terms, and therefore it was not introduced into the Nicene Creed. This assertion will surprise those who only know that Creed as it stands in our Communion Service; but the question being agitated in the West, the clause 'and from the Son,' filioque, was inserted by the French and Spanish Churches, who referred to Leo III. As however it had been determined at the Council at Ephesus, that no alteration should be made in the Creed, the Pope not only forbad this addition, but set up in the Vatican a correct copy without it, graven on silver plates in Greek and Latin. This interpolation was sanctioned, however, by Nicolaus I. who was elected Pope A.D. 858. Photius, the then Patriarch of Constantinople, complained, and treated the Roman Church in consequence as schismatical; and thus a barrier was raised up which still separates the two Churches; and how bitterly this alteration, without the authority of a Council, is still resented by Greek divines, we learn from travellers. Thus a recent one, Mr. Jowett, informs us, that having presented the Greek translation of our liturgy to the Bishop of Smyrna, on a subsequent visit, he asked his opinion of it. "He said the prayers were excellent, very much in accordance with theirs; but turning to the Nicene

[c] Matt. x. 20. [d] Gal. iv. 6. [e] Phil. i. 19; Rom. viii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 11

Creed, where he had doubled down the leaf, he bade me read. When I came to the Article, 'proceeding from the Father and the Son,' I stopped. This, said he, is one of the five principal points in which our Church differs from that of Rome. I was aware, I replied, of the difference; it is a point which at the present day has not been much controverted, being considered as somewhat indifferent. But with us, he said, it is considered as a great blasphemy, a very great one. I touched on the reasons by which the Western Churches support the doctrine; particularly St. John, *And when he had said this, he breathed upon them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost*[z]. He quoted of course John xv. 26. *But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.* He desired his assistant Bishop to read the Acts of the first and second Councils, so far as they related to the Creed; and he turned over our Prayer Book with evident concern, that this expression prevailed in it. It was a matter of some pain to me, although my surprise gradually diminished, to find other ecclesiastics dwelling on this point of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. With the learned Bishop of Scio, I had long conversations on this and other theological subjects. On my mentioning the name of Bishop Burnet, and the conciliating opinion of that Prelate, who considers the controverted doctrine concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost not to be a sufficient ground for a separation between Churches, he was very desirous of taking down the name of this celebrated Expositor of our Articles, still withholding his assent from this moderate view, and strenuously dwelling on this as an irreconcilable difference between the Eastern and Western Churches[a]."

As the Holy Ghost is God, it follows that we with truth affirm in the Athanasian Creed, that "the Godhead of the three persons is all one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal;" or, as is expressed in this Article, "of one substance, majesty, and glory." We have thus concluded the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, neither as we hope "confounding the persons nor dividing the substance,"

[z] John xx. 22. [a] Christian Researches in the Mediterranean, p. 16-19. vol. i.

maintaining that no one person is greater than another, for whatever apparent inferiority there may appear to be, on the first impression, of the Son to the Father, or of the Holy Ghost to both, it will be dissipated by the consideration that it arises out of the subordinate offices of the two latter. We presume not with our feeble intellect to discuss this mystery, which no created intelligence can fully comprehend. Scripture has revealed to us enough of the Divine nature and actions to show us our obligation for redemption to the three persons in the Godhead, and no more. It will therefore be our wisdom to refrain from curious and unbecoming speculations on *the secret things which belong unto the Lord our God, for we cannot find out the Almighty to perfection. Such knowledge is too wonderful* for man, *he cannot attain to it.* The human eye may be blinded in the rash attempt to fix it upon a light which it cannot sustain; but we may discern him, and in the degree in which we can, shall admire and adore him, as reflected in his works of nature and of providence, and above all in those of grace. That "almighty and everlasting" Being, *God blessed for ever,* "has given unto us grace by the confession of a true faith to acknowledge the glory of the eternal Trinity, and in the power of the divine majesty to worship the Unity;" May he ever keep us stedfast in that faith, and may we be not content to rest in a barren orthodoxy which enlightens, but does not warm and invigorate; and let us remember, that the truth has been revealed not that we should meditate, but that we should act. St. Peter has a reference to the three divine persons, when he addresses the strangers scattered throughout the lesser Asia, as *elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.* May we then, *as He who has called us is holy, be holy in all manner of conversation.* And may we take his exhortation as designed, as indeed it is, for us, and for all Christians; *Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth his praises, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light*[b].

[b] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

LECTURE VI.

ARTICLE VI.

OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES FOR SALVATION.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis,	The First Book of Chronicles,
Exodus,	The Second Book of Chronicles,
Leviticus,	The First Book of Esdras,
Numbers,	The Second Book of Esdras,
Deuteronomy,	The Book of Esther,
Joshua,	The Book of Job,
Judges,	The Psalms,
Ruth,	The Proverbs,
The First Book of Samuel,	Ecclesiastes or Preacher,
The Second Book of Samuel,	Cantica, or Songs of Solomon,
The First Book of Kings,	Four Prophets the greater,
The Second Book of Kings,	Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras,	Baruch the Prophet,
The Fourth Book of Esdras,	The Song of the Three Children,
The Book of Tobias,	The Story of Susanna,
The Book of Judith,	Of Bel and the Dragon,
The rest of the Book of Esther,	The Prayer of Manasses,
The Book of Wisdom,	The First Book of Maccabees,
Jesus the Son of Sirach,	The Second Book of Maccabees,

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

In the Articles we have now considered, there has been happily for ages unanimity among Christians, with the

exception of a few sects in the East, whose verbal differences on the Incarnation do not seem to derogate from their respect to Christ as the Son of God: and the far worse modern heresy among ourselves of the Anti-Trinitarians. On these points the Church of Rome is orthodox, although the benefits of its acknowledgment of the divinity, and propitiatory sacrifice of the Saviour, are much depreciated by its doctrine of the subordinate mediation of his saints. Still many in charity believe, that though it has raised a *building of wood hay and stubble*, instead of one of *silver, gold, and precious stones*, it is upon the true and only foundation Jesus Christ: and therefore concede to this corrupt communion the title of Christian; and it is upon this presumption that our own reformed branch of the universal Church, though strongly denouncing it, and even branding it as Antichristian, nevertheless allows the validity of its Orders. At first sight it appears extraordinary, that Christians should differ so little with respect to the Deity, and so greatly respecting their own salvation. The cause is probably the deeper interest we feel in the latter, and the "infection" of original nature, "which remains even in the regenerate;" which inclines even amiable and respectable persons to lower their obligation to the Saviour, and to claim some share, however small it may be, in his finished salvation.

We now come to the first and fundamental difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants, the source of religious knowledge. We maintain that there is only one, the Word of God; its authority they do not deny, but they add a second Tradition, which in several important Articles contradicts and supersedes it. The unbeliever imagines, that the first man was left to discover by his own unassisted faculties the existence, and character, and will of the Deity. The believer rejoices that he has not been overlooked; but that he has the happiness to have handed down to him a narrative of the creation of his progenitors, and to know that they were not abandoned to their own guidance; but that Jehovah their God conversed with them, and gave them all the instructions that their state required. He shewed himself afterwards to Noah, our common ancestor, both before and after the flood: and the

descendants of his three sons, who gradually peopled the world, in whatever country they settled, must have brought with them the simple religion of their parent. Sacrifice, their mode of worship, as has been recorded by historians, and verified by travellers, has prevailed almost universally, both among civilized and barbarous nations; but so unfaithful a preserver of doctrines is Tradition, that in a few generations it became distorted and intermixed with error, till at length the creature was worshipped instead of the Creator; and when Abram was called upon by God to leave his country, that from him a great nation might spring, and that he should be the progenitor of the future deliverer of mankind from the snares of the devil, though he was only the tenth descendant of Noah his father, and we may infer, the other inhabitants beyond the river already served false gods. The rest of mankind were left to what is called the light of nature, and to the glimmering of truth which they more or less retained; but it pleased God in his mercy to form to himself a peculiar people out of his descendants, to whom he would whenever it was desirable reveal himself; and to whom he would commit his oracles, as soon as it was expedient that they should be written, that they should be to them a sufficient guide; and which were to be in due time communicated to the rest of the nations. To Adam, to Noah, to Abraham and his descendants, and to Moses, he spoke as a man face to face, revealing to them the truths they required to know, and the commands which he expected them to obey. With Moses commences a new æra. The family of Abraham has now grown into a nation, and has to receive a code of laws; and this is too comprehensive and too particular to be trusted to such a treacherous depository as Tradition. As time goes on too, new instances of God's providence occur, the memory of which ought not to be suffered to perish; new intimations of the coming of a future deliverer, and fuller delineations of his character and offices, and of the marks by which he may be recognised, are graciously vouchsafed; and from age to age additional manifestations are made of the divine will.

Moses was commanded to write the Law, and also

we may suppose, the narrative of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, and their subsequent journeying till they reached the promised land, as well as his introductory review of history, commencing with the creation. The conquest of the promised land is followed by a history in chronological order of their possession of it under judges, and afterwards under kings. But the authors do not treat the subject like uninspired historians. Intervals are specified from time to time of considerable length, of forty, fifty, and even fourscore years, in which nothing is recorded, not from want of materials, for regular chronicles were kept, but many wars and civil transactions, important in their day, are advisedly passed over; a selection being made which brings the annals of centuries into a very moderate compass, and presents such a narrative of God's providential government of his people, punishing and rewarding them according to their deserts, as it was desirable should be an "everlasting possession" for the instruction and warning and encouragement of future ages. Towards the close of the history, and the expatriation first of Israel, and then of Judah, God was pleased to raise up a new race of prophets, who performed not the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, but who were commissioned to act as preachers of righteousness, and whose exhortations as well as their predictions, they were instructed to record. The majority had run their course before the Babylonian captivity. Jeremiah however outlived it, and Ezekiel and Daniel, in the foreign land to which they had been carried, sustained the faith and courage of the exiles by their predictions of the promised King of Israel, and the happiness of his people under his reign. Ezra and Nehemiah were raised up to restore the city and the temple, but under the civil government of the Persian kings. Haggai and Habakkuk encourage them to complete this work. Zechariah obscurely foretels the future glories of Israel; and Malachi, the last of this long line, who plainly declares that the Lord shall come to his own temple, and a herald shall be sent to precede him, announces that the voice of prophecy should cease, by concluding the volume with exhorting the people of God to attend to the Law. It is a probable supposition,

that Ezra collected all the books then extant, introduced a few explanatory notes into the Pentateuch, and made what in modern language would be called an edition of the ancient oracles. He was also the author of the book which bears his name, and perhaps of that of Nehemiah. The Chronicles are also supposed to be compiled by him out of the national annals; and Malachi seems to have been his contemporary. These works therefore must have been added at some later period; and to none can this completion of the Canon be ascribed with so much probability as to Simon the Just, who lived under the first Seleucus, and with an encomium on whom the son of Sirach closes his enumeration of the worthies of Israel. Four centuries pass away, and the nation is left to the ordinary providence of God. Still the temple service has been restored, and the Law remains as *a lamp unto their feet.* At length the voice of prophecy once more proclaims the coming Saviour; and *God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake unto the fathers by the prophets, speaks* now by his Son. Four narratives of his ministry and a brief sketch of the origin and progress of his religion, are recorded by disciples. Letters follow from four of his Apostles to their converts, and the volume of inspiration closes with a prophetic view of the persecution and sufferings of believers, and the ultimate triumph of the Faith. It is a probable conjecture, that the beloved disciple, who long survived his contemporaries, completed the Canon: but be this as it may, it was early acknowledged as the New Covenant or Testament, which with the Old is received as the sole Word of God. They consist of as many as sixty-six independent works, differing in style and character, yet so harmoniously combining in one consistent whole, as if the composition of a single author, though produced in different languages, and the most diversified circumstances during a series of fifteen centuries. The two Testaments united bear the significant title of the Holy Scriptures or writings, or of Bible, that is to say, the Book, as preeminently deserving the title,—the book which above all ought to be studied. To the unbeliever this harmony, which cannot be denied, is unaccountable; to the

Christian it presents no difficulty; for though different penmen are employed, there is but one author of the whole, that is, God; it being, as Pope Gregory the first calls it, 'God's Epistle to mankind.' We accept it therefore with gratitude and reverence, not as the word of fallible men, but as it indeed is, *the word of God;* who neither will nor can indite what is not truth, and truth of the highest importance. The title implies its inspiration. Such has been, with reference to the Old Testament, the constant opinion of the Jews, and almost each successive portion bears testimony to that, which in order of time precedes it. Thus the Pentateuch, which contains so many speeches of the Deity, recorded, it should seem, in the very words in which they were delivered; and the whole Law, testified by continued miracles, is treated as a divine revelation by the prophets. Inspiration is inferred whenever Christ appeals to it as *Scripture*, and he recognises in one sentence at once the authority of the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets: and as this was the division then in use, it may be considered as an attestation to the whole volume. It is upon the evidence of these books that he proves himself to be the Messiah, and confutes his adversaries. The Apostle of the Gentiles declares *all Scripture to be given by inspiration of God;* and the Apostle to the Jews, that *prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.* The primitive Church had not only the same respect as the Jews for the writings of Moses and the Prophets, but received likewise the Gospels, and Acts, and the Epistles, as in an equal degree inspired. The Holy Ghost we know was promised to the disciples as a guide, that *should both bring all things to their remembrance* which they had seen and heard, during their attendance upon their Lord, and also *lead them into all the truth,* which they could not bear before, but which it was necessary they should know to render them competent instructors. There is as much, we might say more, reason to believe that they should be inspired in what they wrote for the use of *every* age, as what they preached for the benefit of their *own;* and this inspiration they claim.

The nature and extent of inspiration have been much discussed. A plenary one, which makes them the mere amanuenses of the Spirit, simply writing as he dictates, which was the original belief, does not seem to me tenable; certainly it is not essential, and it has probably led to the opposite extreme. On this supposition there would have prevailed throughout a perfect uniformity of style. If the Holy Ghost had dictated every word, why, it has been asked, should Isaiah, who was bred in a court, be more eloquent than Amos, who had his education among herds? why should St. Luke write better Greek than St. John? or why should St. Paul, who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, show more Jewish learning and Rabbinical reasoning than the other Apostles? Why, as in the writings of uninspired authors, should we be able to distinguish differences not only in style, but also in the train of thought, and mode of reasoning and of narrating? Surely the most cursory perusal must force upon us the conclusion, that the temper and education of the authors entered in some measure into their composition. Their thoughts indeed, unless we would degrade them to the level of other writers of veracity and good intentions, must be allowed to be in substance under the immediate direction of the Deity; and though it be impossible for us who are not inspired to define how far the Holy Spirit was concerned in suggesting them, yet we have abundant reason to believe, that he afforded them sufficient assistance, to make their writings *infallible*, and that the measure of his assistance was in proportion to the nature of their subject. Thus when they wrote historically of matters of fact, which they had either seen, or which had been reported to them by credible witnesses, there was no reason that the substance of their histories should be revealed to them again. No more seems required than that their memories should be refreshed, and that the Holy Ghost should so far superintend their writing, as to prevent any error in the relation. In like manner, when they delivered any moral precepts, or argued from any revealed truths, he suffered them to use their intellectual powers as far as the arguments were suitable and solid, and at the same time quickened their

faculties, and enlightened their understandings, and kept them from writing any thing erroneous or irrelevant. But when future events were to be predicted, which they themselves did not comprehend, or doctrines to be announced, which had not been revealed to them by their Master when on earth, we maintain their inspiration in a higher sense, because as these communications were not the result of memory or reasoning, they could come into the mind no other way; and when great and fundamental tenets were to be proposed or explained, no doubt the very words were occasionally dictated, as appears from some seemingly accidental hints of great use even in this remote age, in the confutation of prevalent error, which could not have been caused by their prophetic anticipations, and from passages of more than human energy and suitability for conviction or persuasion, not only of their contemporaries, but of men of all times and countries, whether learned or uneducated. Upon the whole we conclude, that the measure of inspiration varied with the dignity of the subject, and the exigencies of the writers; that for the main they pursued their own method and manner, but on some important occasions had the very words suggested to them, and were never so left to themselves as not to have the Holy Spirit presiding over them, and keeping them from error.

We assume then the Bible to be the word of God, and all Christians agree to this position. It was therefore designed for the information of all believers, for the command to the Apostles to proclaim the Gospel is unlimited; and there is no intimation that it was designed for the clergy only, who might deal out its contents according to their discretion. Nay, on the contrary, some epistles are avowedly written for the use of all believers; and even those which contain doctrines *hard to be understood*, were read out from the beginning, without a commentary, in the congregations. The Book itself we are commanded to search, and we are directed to no other guide. The proofs that it cannot be comprehended, or is dangerous to read, except to a privileged class, rests on those who, allowing its inspiration, call in question its

answering its purpose. I therefore with my whole heart embrace the opinion expressed so powerfully by the memorable Chillingworth, in an often quoted passage from his work of convincing reasoning, "The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants; whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion, but as matter of faith and religion neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I for my part, after a long and, as I verily believe and hope, impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly, that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only. I see plainly and with my own eyes, that there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a consent of Fathers of one age against a consent of Fathers of another age. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of Scripture only for any considering man to build upon. This therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe, this I will profess, and according to this I will live. Propose to me any thing out of this book, and enquire whether I believe it or no, and seem it never so incomprehensible to human reason, I will subscribe it with hand and heart, as knowing no demonstration can be stronger than this, God hath said so, therefore it is true. In other things I will take no man's judgment from him, neither shall any man take mine from me; and what measure I mete to others, I expect from them again. I am fully assured, that God does not, and therefore that man ought not, to require any more of any man than this—to believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it."

The sufficiency of Scripture, and the right of private judgment to determine its meaning, is the characteristic and the justification of Protestantism; and amid all the variety of doctrine which separates from one another the churches and sects that are included within this comprehensive name, this one principle is a bond of union which distinguishes

them all from those, who are content to accept with implicit deference their faith from the Bishop of Rome. Some of these differ on questions of Church government and discipline, a few even renounce vital and essential tenets, still all Protestants refer their disputes to the decision of the same judge, the Word of God. The question with them is to be settled by the interpretation of Scripture; but the Romanist, though he allows the inspiration of Scripture, denies its supreme jurisdiction, and appeals to the equal authority of Tradition, or, as he prefers calling it, the unwritten word; but when he says unwritten, he means that it was delivered orally, not that it is still unwritten, for it is to be found in the decrees of the Councils, and in the works of the Fathers. This renders the Roman Catholic controversy an irksome and interminable one; since these decrees and opinions are all included within the term; and as they occupy many volumes, and run through many centuries, the disputants are wearied out, and the subject buried under a heap of learning. In conducting it, they will not confine themselves to Scripture. It is not enough to show, that the inspired record is silent, or contradicts one of their tenets. In the former case an appeal is made to Tradition: in the latter the interpretation of some approved divine is brought forward as decisive, on the authority of the present Church. The only mode then of disputing with the Romanist successfully is to show, that our Article is right in maintaining that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of the faith." Whereas the Council of Trent, A.D. 1546, had declared, that "following the example of the orthodox Fathers, it received and venerated with sentiments of *equal* piety and reverence all the books, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, since one God was the author of them both; and also the traditions relating as well to faith as to morals, inasmuch as coming from the mouth of Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, they have been preserved in the Catholic Church, in uninterrupted succes-

sion; and if any person shall not receive as sacred and canonical the books of Scripture as read in the Catholic Church, and contained in the ancient vulgate Latin edition, or shall knowingly and designedly contemn the aforesaid traditions, let him be accursed." Our Article, we see, unequivocally rejects Tradition, though it does not name it; and the twentieth and twenty-first Articles are no less decisive. The Homilies speak the same language: and the beginning of the first shows how important it appeared to our Reformers to free themselves from this incumbrance. "Unto a Christian man there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of Holy Scripture, forasmuch as *in it* is contained God's true *word*, setting forth his glory, and also man's duty. And there is no truth or doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation, but that is or may be drawn out of *that* fountain and well of Truth:" thus contradicting the declaration of *two* fountains. And here we perceive a fundamental difference between the two Churches, which is explicitly allowed by Cardinal Bellarmine, one of their ablest controversialists. He grants indeed that Scripture, inasmuch as it is a rule, has this quality, that whatever it contains is necessarily true, and to be believed, and whatever is repugnant to it, is necessarily false. Since however, he continues, it is not a total but a partial rule, it does not contain *all* things; and therefore there are *some* things relating to faith not to be found in it. The natural consequence is, that Scripture is brought under the tutelage of Tradition; and this tutelage is soon converted into vassalage; for since the comment claims the same divine homage as the text, that comment, if supposed to be full and clear, in proportion as the text is supposed to be imperfect and obscure, has in fact superior authority. Hence Tradition, which in theory is only equal to Scripture, becomes in practice paramount. The written word, therefore, is represented as so ambiguous, as to be unintelligible, unless explained by an infallible authority. Bellarmine observes, that in very many places we cannot be certain of its meaning, unless we call in the aid of Tradition; and goes

so far as to say, that the Gospel without unwritten Tradition is an empty name, that is, words without sense. Let us proceed from causes to effects. The Douay Catechism thus boldly answers the question. "Are all these points of Faith written in the holy Bible? *Many* are there clearly expressed, and *some* are only delivered by the living voice of the faithful, and are called Apostolical traditions." Thus the Council of Trent, though it refers to both where it can, in some Articles wisely appeals only to the latter. In the decrees concerning indulgences, images, relics, and invocations of saints, there is no attempt to press Scripture into their service. Our own Church in discarding Tradition rejects in the fourteenth, twenty-second, twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, thirtieth, and thirty-first Articles, works of supererogation, purgatory, pardons, worshipping as well of images as of relics, and the invocation of saints, and "because they have no warranty of Scripture." Five of the seven Sacraments and Transubstantiation are rejected on the same ground, and also the adoration of the elements. The thirtieth declares, that the Cup is not to be denied to the Laity; but here Tradition also is on our side. Holy Mother Church therefore, says the Decree, acknowledges its *own* authority in the administration of the Sacraments, and says, that although from the commencement of Christianity the use of it was not uncommon, yet that the Church, induced by just and grave causes, has approved and decreed communicating only under one kind. The thirty-first declares the offering of Christ *once made* to be a perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and that there is no other; whereas the Council urges the *daily* sacrifice of the mass under the name of the unbloody sacrifice, and as truly propitiatory for the sins, not only of the living, but of the dead, who are not yet released from purgatory. For this also they can only plead Tradition. There is also a difference as to original sin; the tenth, affirming man's inability to prepare himself for faith, is opposite to their doctrine; the twelfth says, that good works *follow after* justification; and the thirteenth, that works done *before it* cannot be good. The following is a proof of vassalage. Some supposed intimation of a doctrine is

sought in the words of Scripture, and then through the light of Tradition this obscure intimation becomes a clear and full account. For example, in favour of extreme unction a reference is made to James, who is said to teach not indeed in so many words, but from Apostolical Tradition, the matter, form, proper minister, and effect of this salutary Sacrament. Now of this commentary imposed by Tradition there is not one word in the text. Penance is established in a similar manner. Μετανοεῖτε, reform or repent, is rendered *do penance*, upon which the Rhemish Testament has this note: 'Which word, according to the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, does not only signify repentance and amendment of life, but also punishing past sins by fasting and such-like penitential exercises[a].'

The arguments in favour of Tradition are specious, and recommend themselves by a show of humility and modesty, qualities peculiarly characteristic of the genuine Christian: yet it can be only the show, for they resolve at last unto this proposition, God hath inspired persons to commit to writing the knowledge of his will, and it has not been done with sufficient fulness or clearness. Its advocates will urge, that the Apostles must have communicated orally much which they did not commit to writing, but which does not on that account lose its value and authority. Our answer is, that information, however conveyed, would have equal value and authority, if we could depend upon the channel through which it comes: but we are certain that many of the Jewish traditions were not only erroneous but mischievous; we have reason to believe the same of several of the Christian. It is in the highest degree improbable, that any doctrine should have been omitted in the Testament, and confided to the future record of the Fathers. Even if such traditions were extant, they would be useless, unless we could ascertain their authenticity. Now if an author states what was delivered by another long before his birth, he only transmits a report, and those traditions are *not* recorded by any Father of the first four centuries! How then were they conveyed to those of a subsequent

[a] Bishop Marsh's Comparative View.

age? In the Mohammedan traditions, on the contrary, which make up so much of the religion of Islam, as is reasonable, the name of the person to whom the prophet delivered, and of those by whom it was successively handed down, are carefully noted. I wish to observe, that in reading the earliest of the Fathers, called from their date Apostolical, it has forcibly struck me as a providential arrangement, that their writings are so brief and meagre. Such as they are, they appear to me to be vastly overvalued; and I consider that their importance consists in their testimony to the inspiration of Scripture, and their copious citations from the New Testament, which assures us, that their text, which is prior to any manuscripts, is substantially the same as our's. Their immense inferiority is by contrast a strong internal testimony to the inspiration and consequent authority of the former, which they appeal to as "authority in controversies of faith." Coming so near to the time of the Apostles, if they had the eloquence of Chrysostom or the unction of Augustine, or treated at equal length on dogmas, it would have been almost impossible, humanly speaking, to have been satisfied with *the sincere milk* of the word.

We do not contend that all regard to Councils, Fathers, and ecclesiastical decrees, should be set aside; the question is, whether they should be obeyed implicitly as divine, or only reverenced as human, when it appears to our reason that they are deserving of reverence. If the Romanists are right, Tradition is to judge us; if we are right, Tradition is to be judged *by* us. I would observe, that Tradition is of two kinds; of doctrine, which we altogether disclaim; of customs, which we in a degree approve, as will be shown under the 34th Article. The latter, the Romanist allows to be of human origin, nor is it less different in quality. Bellarmine describes it as consisting of certain ancient customs, which having originated partly in the practice of Bishops, partly in that of the laity, have gradually and by tacit consent acquired the force of law, and this is called Ecclesiastical. It has been urged, that Tradition is even recommended in Scripture[b], *I praise you that ye keep the ordinances* (or

traditions) *as I have delivered them to you;* this is of the latter description: again, *Stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle*[c]; this is of the former. But the Apostle had lately quitted them; they must have known to what he referred, and if they had mistaken him, he could by letter set them right. Let us know as well what he said as what he wrote to them, and we shall raise no dispute about receiving it. We argue, that the truth of what professes to be conveyed by Tradition cannot be depended upon; and also that we find, that upon essential points the Bible is sufficiently explicit. Still in maintaining this sufficiency, we take the Scripture in the largest and most liberal sense, not limiting ourselves to its precise words, but comprehending all the inferences that may be logically drawn from it; and as to private judgment, though we think, that by comparing what is in one passage obscure, with another in which it is more plainly revealed, even the unlearned may discover all fundamental truths; we are not for throwing aside as useless the interpretations of those who have devoted their time and talents to this study. We will not yield up our judgment to any fallible teacher, considering it not so much a right as a duty to *examine all things, and hold fast that which is true.* Nevertheless the commentaries and treatises of pious and able individuals, in every communion, are to be consulted. Still more ought we to respect the deliberate judgment of Councils, and the Confessions of the Reformed Churches; and I regard it as no small cause of thankfulness to Almighty God, that I can subscribe ex animo the propositions which our own scriptural Church has deduced from the unerring word.

It is observable, that in every religion, true or false, men have been desirous of being wise above that which is written. The people of the Book, as the Koran terms those who profess to have a divine revelation, are not contented with it. Thus Jews and Mahometans, as well as Roman Catholics, have traditions; and those of the former having been long since brought together, may be consulted

[b] 1 Cor. xi. 2. [c] 2 Thess. ii. 15.

at pleasure. Those of both far exceed in bulk the original Law, and in many instances evade or explain it away. Of the Mahometan sayings of their Prophet, some thousands are allowed to be authentic. These of course do not concern us, but I mention them to show the tendency of human nature, and that we ought to be upon our guard against a weakness to which we are all so liable. The Jews, with the exception of the Karaites, (of which there are now very few, so called from their attachment to the written word,) maintain, that many things were spoken to Moses on Mount Sinai which were not recorded; these according to them he orally delivered to Joshua, and he to the elders, they to those that came after them, till at length this oral law being in danger of being forgotten, it was thought proper to commit it to writing. About the middle of the second century, Rabbi Judah, the holy, gathered the traditions into one volume, consisting of six books, or sixty-three treatises, which is called the Mishna, or secondary law. The Commentary upon this is called Gemara, or the completing of it; and of this there are two, that of Jerusalem, A.D. 300, and that of Babylon two centuries later. The first is in one folio volume, the second, which is the most fanciful and the most followed, in no less than twelve. The whole is called the Talmud, or what ought to be learnt. The Rabbis, since our Lord's time, do not scruple positively to give it a preference over the Law, comparing the first to wine, the second to water; and we know that many of their traditions prevailed even in his time. Far from submitting to their interpretations, he declares, that they *had made the law of God of none effect by their traditions,* and reproaches them that *they worshipped God in vain, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* In all his discussions with the Pharisees, he refers to Moses and the Prophets. To them, and not to Tradition, does he appeal. What is a great part of the Sermon on the mount but rectifying errors of Tradition? If he had intended that his own religion should be grounded even in part upon such a foundation, he would not have spoken as he has. The Romanists reply, that the tradition he condemns is either repugnant to God's law, or

is frivolous and unprofitable, not like theirs; but granting this, we are to judge of traditions. A genuine tradition sufficiently attested, that is useful, no reasonable man can reject; but if we are to judge Tradition, its authority is gone, that is, if we are only to adopt it when we think it reasonable. The Apostles in all their disputes with the Jews make a constant appeal to the Scriptures; the Bereans are praised for comparing their doctrines with that alone; and Paul, in his argumentative epistles, refers to no other rule of faith. He declares to Timothy, that *the Scriptures* [*of the Old Testament*] *are able through faith to make him wise unto salvation*, and that by answering the different purposes of *teaching, reproving, correcting, and instructing in righteousness, the man of God may be rendered perfect, and thoroughly furnished to all good works.* Matthew, according to Eusebius[d], tells us, that being about to leave the Jews among whom he had preached, gave them his Gospel in writing to supply his presence. Mark, according to Clement of Alexandria, left his as a monument of the doctrine which Peter had orally delivered. Luke drew up his Gospel, that readers might know the *certainty of those things in which they had been orally instructed.* John says, *these signs were written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name;* surely then he left nothing to Tradition which he thought necessary for the attaining of this object. He long outlived the other Apostles, and had experienced how little Tradition could be trusted, since it had even in his time been corrupted in so weighty a matter as the nature of his Lord's person. When Peter knew by a special revelation, that he *must shortly put off his tabernacle*, he does not refer his converts to Tradition, or to the teaching of any successor, but wrote a second Epistle, that *they might be able* after his decease to have the tenets he had taught them always in remembrance. The Apostles give no hint of having left any thing with the Church to be conveyed down by oral tradition; and I select a few passages in chronological order, to show that the early Christian writers acknowledged no other

[d] iii. 24.

rule of faith than the Bible; and when they occasionally justify their opinions or language by human authority, they only do it to clear themselves from the charge of innovation, and in arguing with those who did not acknowledge the Scriptures. The Gnostics also claiming this very tradition in their favour, are refuted by Irenæus and Tertullian, who show that there was none such in existence. "We have known," says the first of these, "the method of our salvation, through no other than those through whom the Gospel came to us, which they then truly proclaimed; but afterwards by the will of God, they [tradiderunt] delivered it to us in writing, to be to us in future *the foundation and pillar of the faith.* He proceeds to say, "Read more diligently the Gospel given to us by the Apostles, and read more diligently the Prophets, and you will find the entire conduct, and the whole doctrine, and the whole passion of our Lord preached in them." And the latter says, "Let the school of Hermogenes show us that it is written; if it be not, let them fear the woe allotted to such as add to or take from Scripture." In his Prescriptions he uses this remarkable language. "They confess indeed that the Apostles were ignorant of nothing, and differed not among themselves in their preaching, but they are unwilling to believe that they revealed all things to all, and not some secretly, and to a few; and this because Paul used these words, *O Timothy, guard that which is deposited with thee through the Holy Spirit.*" And these very passages so turned aside from their obvious meaning by the heretics whom he condemns, receive the same interpretation from Bellarmine[e]. "Consider how eminent their danger is who neglect to study the Scriptures, in which alone a knowledge of their condition can be ascertained[f]." And Jerome[g] and Augustine[h], these great pillars of the Roman Church, shall supply us with these passages, out of many which I might cite. The first these. "As we deny not those things which are written, so we refuse those which are not written. That God was born of a Virgin, we believe,

[e] De verbo Dei non scripto. Origen 252. [f] Hom. in Matt.
[g] A.D. 420. [h] A.D. 430.

because we read it; that she did marry after her delivery we believe not, because we do not read it[g]." "Those things which they make and find, as it were, by Apostolical Tradition, without the authority and testimony of the Scriptures, the sword of God smites in Aggai." From Augustine let these suffice. "Whatsoever ye hear from the Scriptures, be that well received by you; whatsoever is not in them refuse, reject, lest you wander in a mist[h]." "All writings since the confirmation of the Canon of Scripture are liable to dispute, and even Councils themselves are to be examined and amended by Councils. Whatever our Saviour would have us read of his works and words, he commended his apostles and disciples to write as his hand[i]." With us Protestants the Fathers have no other authority on questions of doctrine than other uninspired authors; but as their voluminous works are included in the mass of documents which the Church of Rome receives as the unwritten word of God, it is important to show that they are really on our side. It should also be observed, that they use the word Tradition in a larger sense than the Romanist, according to its etymology, for whatever has been delivered down both in writing as well as orally. Thus St. Paul using the word thus largely says, *for I delivered unto you* παρέδωκα *that which I have received;* and he expressly commands the Thessalonians to hold fast the traditions παραδόσεις which they had received, whether by his word or his epistle; and Jude speaks of the faith delivered παραδοθείσῃ once for all. In the same sense Irenæus calls it a tradition, that Christ took the cup. The following passage from Irenæus[k] is claimed by Romanists as favourable to their view, and certainly uses Tradition in their sense. "If the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures, must we not then have followed the order of Tradition, which they delivered to those to whom they committed the Churches? To this course truly assent many nations of the barbarians who have salvation, without ink or characters, upon the heart." And certainly even in modern times, in the conversion of all heathen nations, even of the most learned, preaching generally speaking must precede read-

[g] Contra Helvidium. [h] De Doct. Ch. [i] De Consensu Evang. [k] iii. 4.

ing; still the missionary who knows how uncertain a guide Tradition cannot fail to be, will, as William Williams the Evangelist of New Zealand has done in the Maouri tongue, as soon as it is practicable, commit the truths he has proclaimed to writing; and that this was the ancient practice appears from the remarkable fact, that Ulphilas, who converted the Goths, translated for his converts the Scriptures, and like our modern missionaries embodied in a grammar the rules of their tongue, and introduced a written character. The continuation of the citation from Irenæus, respecting the ancient tradition, shows that he afterwards uses the word in the original not in the Roman sense; for his examples are doctrines that have been recorded in Scripture, and their tradition is recommended, because it professes to add knowledge not contained therein, exactly in kind the same as that of the Gnostics, as appears from this remarkable passage of the same ancient writer[l]. "When these heretics are accused by Scripture, they accused Scripture itself, because it varies in its sayings, and because truth cannot be obtained from it by those who are ignorant of Tradition. For the truth was not delivered by writing, but by the living voice. But when we again refer those who are averse to Tradition, to that Tradition which is from the Apostles, and which is preserved by succession of presbyters in the Churches, they will say that they are not only wiser than the presbyters, but also than the Apostles, and have found out the unadulterated truth;" Irenæus then, we may conclude, would have rejected Roman as well as Gnostic additions to the written word.

We have reason to think, that whatever was necessary to be known or done, would be written in the Christian Law, as it had been in the Jewish; and what could be God's design in first ordering Moses, and after him all inspired persons, to write down his communications, but to preserve men from the uncertainty and corruption of oral tradition. In the first ages there were circumstances which have long ceased, very favourable to its purity: the doctrines and rites to be handed down were few and simple; the whole race

[l] Iren. iii. 2. [m] Gnos. iii. 2.

of mankind sprung from one common pair, and the life of each individual was protracted greatly beyond the period allowed to later generations. Methuselah lived above three centuries during the life of Adam, and Shem, who was almost a hundred years of age when Methuselah died, was also the contemporary of Abraham. Thus two persons might have conveyed down the knowledge of true religion to the father of the faithful: and yet we know, that when it pleased God to reveal himself to him beyond the river, and commanded him to forsake his country and kinsmen, they were idolaters. What could be more likely to be remembered than the law delivered at Mount Sinai, from the aweful manner in which it was promulgated, and from the brevity and the distinctness of the commandments? yet even the Decalogue was written or engraved upon two tables of stone. What could make a deeper impression, than the deliverance of the whole nation of Israel from Egyptian bondage by the miraculous destruction of their oppressors; yet this marvellous event was recorded during the time of the very generation that had experienced it, though annual festivals were appointed to preserve the memory of it, and while the Urim and Thummim might be consulted. Why write so much, if oral teaching could be perfectly preserved? And how much more necessary was it that Christianity should be fixed at its commencement, and not left to the looseness of reports, since that dispensation was immediately to be spread to distant countries among the inhabitants of which there could be little intercommunication. The Jews were a small people kept together by many ceremonial observances, and destined to live alone, and not to be reckoned among the nations. Christianity was designed to be an universal religion, and to combine with customs and manners of every kind, from barbarism to the utmost refinement, and no more than two external rites were positively enjoined. Since then oral tradition, when it had on its side the utmost possible advantage, failed so much in the conveyance of natural religion, and was not entrusted with that of Israel, we conclude that it cannot be relied upon for Christianity: we see that it is not recognised in the New Testament, and

practically we do not feel any want of it. The most specious argument in favour of Tradition is, that the religion itself was professed and flourished before the books were written, from which alone, our opponents say, according to us, it can be learned. They taunt us with the fact, that the Apostles went not with books in their hands to deliver Christ's doctrine, but words in their mouths; and that primitive antiquity learnt their faith by another method before these books were in existence. To this, as I think only plausible objection, I answer, that they overlook the fact, that the Old Testament was then extant, and that our Lord and his Apostles appealed to it. While they survived, their living voice was sufficient for those whom it could reach; but as soon as they could, they communicated the revelation to writings, which were to be their only authoritative successors. It is a probable tradition, that when they were about to separate, Matthew drew up his gospel, that a sketch of our Lord's ministry might be preserved in an authentic form, and not be left to the possibility of alteration in passing through many mouths. Our Lord's promise, that the Holy Spirit would bring all things to their remembrance, seems to imply, that they were to record them; and the fact that the former dispensation had been committed to writing is a presumption, that it was designed to employ the same method of securing the latter from the variations that might be introduced, either with or without intention. There might be no need of committing Christianity to writing while there was access to infallible witnesses; but it became necessary when those who could correct errors were no longer within reach, and supernatural aid had been withdrawn. If preachers now could give us the same evidence of public and unquestionable miracles, then we need not examine their doctrines by any other rule. But it is manifest, that the Apostles themselves, from their writing gospels and epistles, would not trust to such an uncertain conveyance, and the disciples who immediately succeeded the Apostles as they travelled to preach the gospel, did, as Eusebius[n] tells us, at the same time deliver

[n] Eusebius iii. 36.

to their converts the writings of the holy Evangelists; and Ignatius as he travelled towards Rome, where he was to suffer martyrdom, exhorted the Churches of every city to which he wrote, to hold fast the *traditions* of the Apostles, which for greater security he held necessary to be copied in *writing* for the instruction of believers. We may assume, that no essential or really desirable information has been withheld: nor do the early opponents of the faith attack any fact or tenet that is not found in Scripture. The sufficiency of the New Testament may be argued from its completeness. If God has given us eternal life in his Son, and St. John wrote his gospel, that by believing we might have life in his name, it follows that we have all we require; and we have a right to ask the Romanist, in what respect the New Testament is deficient. When hard pressed, they say that we learn only from Tradition the practice of infant baptism, and the transfer of the Sabbath from the last to the first day of the week. We allow that Tradition is a safer hander down of rites and ceremonies than of doctrines. Still we reject its right of deciding even in such cases, and believe (though we allow weight to primitive usage) that both are inferred from Scripture[o]. They also assume, that our Lord's divinity can only be proved by Tradition, and in their zeal endanger the basis of the faith; for who would accept the doctrine, if the inspired writers had not affirmed its truth. It is a sufficient answer, that none of the Fathers can have argued from it, or deduced from it more forcible appeals to conscience and gratitude, than Paul, Peter, and John; and I refer to my exposition of the second Article

[o] The lawfulness and duty of baptizing infants is argued from the analogy of circumcision: from the probability that there were such in the households mentioned in the Acts, as baptized at the same time with the heads of the families; and from St. Paul's reasoning, 1 Cor. vii. 14. St. John expressly states that he was in the spirit on the Lord's day, Rev. i. 10.; and He himself appears to have consecrated the first day by his resurrection, and so his Apostles seem to have understood him, since they met together on the same day in the following week, John xx. 26. And the fact is inferred from passages in the Acts, Acts xxi. 4; xxviii. 14. and especially *when the disciples came together to break bread*, Acts xx. 7. or, as we should now express ourselves, to partake of the Lord's Supper.

for the scriptural evidence of this vital essential truth. Finally, Scripture maintains its own sufficiency. It may be said, a book can no more than a man bear witness to its own veracity. But my reply is, that it can, when it is allowed by both parties to be true. Its sufficiency is allowed by the Fathers and the Councils from the beginning; and what has Rome to urge for Tradition, but her own modern and on this question interested divines? Our Lord ascribes the error of the Sadducees to their not understanding the Scriptures. Even these early Scriptures are declared to be able to make the reader wise unto salvation; and if they needed no living interpreter, still less can the Christian additions to the Canon, which exhibit not the shadow but the substance; not the truth through the veil of types and predictions, but stated in the plainest language. And the whole tone and spirit of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians and other Christians show, that the fault was not in these writings, but in themselves, if they did not *comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and know the love of Christ, and be filled with all the fulness of God.*

But dismissing Tradition, as the *equal* or *rival* of Scripture, it comes before us in the most insidious form of its friend and ally, as affording us amid contradictory interpretations an authorized guide, upon which we can rely with confidence. No doubt a Church that pretends to infallibility might be expected to have long ago put an end to all disputes, by producing an infallible commentary. Yet, though we hear so much of infallibility and of tradition, we find as much difference of opinion among Roman Catholic as Protestant commentators, and the Church has never put forth one in her name. Subjects which do not interfere with the claims of the Church, are left as with us to private judgment; thus the doctrine of the divine decrees has divided them as much as us; yet the Church, unwilling to offend either the Dominicans or the Jesuits, who have taken opposite sides, has never ventured to pronounce judgment. When this question is asked, a triumphant appeal is made to the decisions of general Councils; yet

there is much of Scripture, especially of the obscurer parts, which they leave altogether untouched: and it is deserving of note, that the doctrines which the early ones, which we acknowledge as orthodox, determined, they decided not by the opinion of divines, but exclusively by Scripture.

Whatever tends to show the perspicuity of the Bible, is of course unfavourable to Tradition, either as a substitute, or as its interpreter. It is therefore the object of the Romanist to dwell upon its obscurity: and so far do their divines proceed in this profane attempt, that they have by exaggeration furnished infidels with weapons against Christianity, and have said nearly as much as was possible to lower it in public estimation. Not content with disparaging it as obscure, while they acknowledge its inspiration, they presume to call it a dangerous book, and obstruct consistently its perusal. The supreme Pontiffs, perceiving by a sort of instinct of self-preservation that the Book condemned by anticipation their unchristian doctrines and usurped authority, have in every age exerted themselves to suppress this witness against them. Thus Wycliffe's translation was denounced by a Papal Bull, addressed, A.D. 1378, to our University, which favoured his religious movement, and being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, was able to protect him. Luther, and our own Tyndale in a later age, had to encounter similar treatment. Nor can we wonder that the noble undertaking of modern philanthropy, which aspires to supply the whole family of mankind with the word of God, should be the special object of Roman abhorrence. It was denounced, (as soon as it became formidable to this perverter of the truth, who hated the light that would detect and reprove him,) in A.D. 1816, as a crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined. He confirmed the Trent determination, that the Bible printed by heretics, (that is, Protestants,) should be included in the index of prohibited books, it being evident from experience, that the holy Scriptures circulated in the vulgar tongue, produce more harm than good; thus declaring the Word of God to be, without an interpreter, not only an insufficient, but a dangerous guide. The pro-

hibition was renewed by his successor Leo; and again by the present Pope, who, though hailed on his election with enthusiasm as a reformer of the State, has shown no disposition to improve the Church, but added a new Article, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, to the heretical creed of the predecessor whose name he bears, and whose memory he professes to revere. In the prohibition of God's Word, as has been observed, the Popes have only acted in conformity with the Council of Trent. Thus early in the preceding century Father Quesnel had written some edifying reflections on the New Testament, which were widely circulated, and were admired and recommended by the most pious prelates in his own Church. But he had dared to announce the position that "It is useful and necessary, at all times, in all places, and for all sorts of persons, to know the spirit, piety, and mysteries of the Scripture:" and for this offence he was imprisoned. He contrived to escape to Holland: and the Pope, on the solicitation of Louis XIV, issued the Bull Unigenitus, which condemned this proposition as false, scandalous, impious, blasphemous! Such being the decrees of the heads of that corrupt Church, we cannot wonder that the Bible is treated with contempt by individual members. Pighius teaches us to call it a nose of wax, and Turrian a shoe that may fit any foot; and we have lived to see it burnt by the priests of Ireland, who had been told by Leo XII, that through a perverse interpretation there has been framed out of the Gospel of Christ, a gospel of man, or what is worse, a gospel of the devil! They catch eagerly at Peter's warning, but they reject his remedy: they would close the book; he would have his converts *grow in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour.* He speaks of *some things hard to be understood,* and only in St. Paul's Epistles; they object to the whole volume. And these things, before they can injure must be wrested, that is, *tortured:* and the persons named by him the *untaught,* or unteachable, are also described as *unstable.* It is out of a tender care of souls that Rome professes to forbid the laity to read even Roman versions with approved notes, without a written licence from the Bishop of the diocese, with the advice of a priest; yet

their own Dupin truly observes, that the perusal seldom causes any but the learned to fall into error, and that generally the simple have found in the Scriptures only instruction and edification. Now that ultra-montanism seems to have extinguished whatever liberality had lingered in that Church, this defender of the Gallican liberties will find less favour than ever; but even Bellarmine, who advocates extreme views, maintaining the Pope's personal infallibility, allows, that almost all heresiarchs were bishops or presbyters. This prohibition is an express contradiction of St. Paul, who adjures the Thessalonians to read out his Epistle in the congregation. In fact, the Bible is the common property of Christians; and who shall presume to keep back from any what the Holy Ghost has indited for the benefit of all? yet Rome arrogantly claims it as her exclusive possession, Milner, in his so-called 'End of Controversy,' thus unblushingly stating to his opponent the difference of their position. "I am bound, dear Sir, in conformity with my rule of faith, to protest against your right to argue from Scripture, for I have proved to you that the whole business of the Scriptures belongs to the Church, who alone authoritatively explains them. It is impossible that the sense of Scripture should ever be against her; hence I might quash every objection you draw from any passage by this short reply, the Church understands the passage differently, therefore you mistate it! Such a claim can only be supported by the partial definition of a Church common with those who think with him, a definition which substitutes a part for the whole, the ministry for the congregation.

Roman Catholics enlarge upon the enthusiasm of Protestants, as arising out of an abuse of the Bible; but where shall we discover so many whose enthusiasm has driven them, at least to the verge of insanity, as among their monks and nuns, or in any denomination men who have inflicted such injuries on mankind, as the founders of their two orders of begging friars, the half-crazy Francis and Dominic, the hard-hearted fanatical founder of the Inquisition? They are also fond of dwelling upon the varieties of doctrine among Protestants, which they ascribe to their perusal of the Scriptures.

Thus Bossuet, relying on the boldness of his assertion, says, that the Church, which professes to teach no more than she has received, never varies; whereas heresy, which began by innovation, is always innovating. Ecclesiastical history however, and this he could hardly fail to know, abundantly confutes him, by marking the precise æra at which image worship, transubstantiation, and other pernicious errors, were introduced; and the published Confessions of the reformed Churches will, to any who will compare them, show them substantial harmony in all leading doctrines.

It may be also argued, that the Bible is a sufficient rule of faith and morals, because no other exists. Believers of the primitive times have transmitted it to us, and proved from it their faith. The rule being a written one may be considered an accident; still because written it is more accurately preserved, more certainly transmitted, and fitter for use; and we may say that the Protestant aphorism is established by the fact, that there is no doctrine that can pretend to a clear universal tradition, and the testimony of the first ages and churches, but what is contained in the Old and New Testaments. Reason satisfies us, and the fact is confirmed by St. John, that Jesus must have said and done much more than has been recorded of him. It may be natural to wish for a fuller statement, but we must bow to the superior wisdom which has arranged it as it is; and it is wonderful, and no doubt providential, that we have not, as of other eminent characters, speeches and actions of our Lord handed down by subsequent authors. Suppose Clement, or Polycarp, or Ignatius, had supplied any probable anecdotes, we could hardly have refused to accept them, as in profane history we do those of Diodorus of Sicily or of Plutarch, on the presumption that they found them in earlier writings, which have since perished. Certainly the more we reflect upon the subject, the more thankful we shall feel that so very few sayings of our Lord have been recorded that are not embalmed, as it were, in the Gospels: and that they are obscure and unimportant, except the one which St. Paul, by quoting it to the elders at Miletus, has stamped with scriptural

authority. The early Fathers neither appeal to Tradition, or express a wish for it; and the Scriptures being designed for all, are written in a style intelligible to the unlearned. Much too of Scripture is now easy, that was once difficult; and passages which are still difficult, time will make as easy. For instance, many of the types and prophecies which relate to the Messiah were perhaps till his coming, at least as to their chief intention, unintelligible, which to us who live since are plain and perspicuous. We allow, however, that there are still difficulties: we do not however find that Tradition has explained them to the Roman Catholics; and the obscurity of any part does not affect our argument, if we can show, that the leading doctrines and duties may be easily understood by pious and well-meaning men, though of little education. This is a practical question, which the experience of every age abundantly demonstrates. For wherever the Scriptures have been allowed to have *free course*, there they have been *glorified*, in the conversion of souls; or in the edification in the faith and of good works of those converted, through the instrumentality of preaching. Whether as converting, or as sanctifying the previous believer, they have proved themselves by their effects wherever they have been read to be the word of God.

This argument may, however, be pushed too far; for it is the pure and holy doctrine, so worthy of a perfect Being, so suitable to our wants, so consolatory to our feelings, and so calculated to improve us, which we are convinced is from above. As to the language in which it is conveyed, we can hardly venture to affirm that we could have always distinguished it from that of pious uninspired men, conveying in their own words the same doctrine; especially in the historical books, though exceptions must of course be made for passages which speak authoritatively, or report a message avowedly from God. If asked why we receive the present canon, we refer to *historical testimony:* and then the traditionist comes round upon us to convict us out of our own mouths, maintaining that we believe the Scriptures upon the authority of the Church, and therefore end in submission to Tradition. To avoid this embarrasment, many of the Reformers

declared that the Scriptures manifested themselves to be the word of God. According to the Belgian confession, they themselves testify their authority; the Gallican proceeds further, not only declaring faith in the Scriptures to depend upon the internal persuasion of the Spirit; but that thereby they know canonical from ecclesiastical or apocryphal books; and the Assembly's Confession solves our conviction ultimately into internal evidence. "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to a high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture: and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, and the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole of which is to give all glory to God; the full discovery which it makes of the sole way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evince itself to be the word of God; yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible and divine authority thereof, is from the *inward work* of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness *by* and *with* the word in our hearts." Whitaker, in his controversy with Bellarmine, goes so far as to say, the sum of our opinion is, that the Scriptures have all their authority from themselves: that they are to be received, not because the Church has so appointed, but because they come from God; and that they came from God cannot be certainly known, but by the Holy Ghost. Calvin says, the majesty of God will presently appear in them to every impartial examiner, and extort his assent, so that they act preposterously, who endeavour by argument to beget a solid credit to them, as the word will never meet with belief, till it be sealed by the internal testimony of the Spirit who wrote it. The internal evidence of the truth of *Christianity itself* will be allowed by all genuine believers to bring home conviction both to the understanding and the heart; but this is the effect of the *doctrine*, whether conveyed *orally*, or by *writing;* but with respect to the channel through which this doctrine is conveyed, that is, the books in which it is preserved, this proof I conceive would at the utmost only apply to our

Lord's own discourses, and parts of the Epistles: and without an immediate personal revelation, no man would in this way have a satisfactory conviction, that the books themselves and no others, are the word of God. We grant that the fabrications of gospels, acts, and epistles, which have come down to us, carry with them from their absurdity or inability their own condemnation; but we know that seven of the books now admitted into the New Testament, were at one time only partially acknowledged. This, as Burnet observes, is only an argument to him who feels it: and to assert that the Scriptures can be only proved by the testimony of the Spirit, is likely to introduce such enthusiasm as would render the Canon uncertain and precarious; for as every person must be the only judge for himself of this testimony, it will not be strange, if some should urge it for other books not commonly received, and if they should, how can these divines answer them? According to this hypothesis, all who believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, must have the testimony of the Spirit; whereas it is a fact, that multitudes firmly believe in them, who are not conscious of such an inward illumination. "For my part," says Baxter, whose integrity none will deny, "I confess I could never boast of any such light of the spirit, or reason either, which without human testimony, would have made me believe, for instance, that Solomon's Song is canonical; and the Book of Wisdom apocryphal; nor could I have known all or any historical books, as Joshua and Judges, (and we may add the Gospels and Acts,) to be written by divine inspiration, but by Tradition." We cannot show the genuine gospels and acts to be inspired, since we could imagine similar uninspired ones, written by competent reporters, that should be true, and between which and the four received ones our own judgment would not allow us to discriminate. It is well known, that, in point of fact, no higher authority than this is allowed to those of Mark and Luke by Michaelis and other critics. Some, unwilling to dispute the validity of the argument from internal evidence, have attempted a sort of medium; as Placæus, who observes, that the truly canonical books

have more or fewer characters and evidences of their inspiration, as they are more or less necessary; and that apocryphal books, as they are more or less unfit for the Canon, have more or fewer marks of human composition, so that there may be books, as that of Esther, which we shall hardly be able to prove canonical, and such a composition as Manasses' prayer, which we shall hardly be able to prove apocryphal, by any other arguments than such as are drawn from the language in which they are written, and the constant testimony of the Church. If of books claiming inspiration, we are to judge from their style and contents, without any external arguments from tradition, since each party will be most attached to such as seem most to favour its scheme of divinity; it is a probable conclusion that several now received would have been at times rejected. It is well known, that the early heretics acting upon this principle, rejected books because they were not in harmony with their preconceived opinions; and their reasoning has been well confuted by Augustin[p]. The advocates of this kind of proof would do well to consider, how uncertain they make the Canon. In the Church of Corinth were deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ, and artfully imitating their doctrines. Now if such had published books under the names of the genuine Apostles, it would have been almost impossible, without some rational arguments, for the ordinary believers to have detected their forgeries; and St. Paul did not put them upon this method of ascertaining the genuineness of his epistles. Knowing them as he did to be from God, still he did not trust to their *intrinsic* evidence, but mentions the mark which he made use of in all, to distinguish them from supposititious ones. The other extreme is to receive the Scriptures solely upon the authority of the Church, as if it depended upon Popes and Councils to sanction or reject at their pleasure. This we regard as too absurd to require confutation; we must then acquiesce in the only remaining method, tradition handed down from those who lived in or near the time of their

[p] Contra Faustum, xi. 2; xxxiii. 6.

being written. The question is concerning *the fact*, whether certain books were written by their reputed authors, and we prove it in the same way, only with much stronger evidence, as we prove that Virgil or Livy wrote the works that have always passed under their names. The scriptural works have also the advantage of having been published as soon as written, being delivered to the churches for their use; they who first received them knew them to be the works of those names they bore, and could and did testify to the succeeding age their knowledge of this fact. This testimony is still faithfully preserved in the writings of the ancient Christians, and is therefore not only a sufficient, but the principal cause of our conviction. This, says Huet, is an axiom which cannot be disputed by those who will allow any thing in history to be certain: and the deference which has been always shown to the Scriptures, and the copious citations from them by the Fathers, and their continual perusal, must have secured them from corruption. The early Christians were not credulous, but very careful to separate the true from the false. This appears from the fact, that it was long before some of the books were universally received, and from the steps they took to discountenance the spurious. Thus when Paul, a presbyter of Asia, confessed that he has written in the Apostle Paul's name the acts of Paul and Thecla, a notice of his forgery was conveyed to the African church. Modern advocates of infidelity assert, that the New Testament Scriptures, as we have them, were never accounted canonical, until the Council of Laodicea, as late as A.D. 364. The canons of this Council are, we allow, the earliest extant, which give a catalogue; but there is reason to believe, that the Bishops there present did not meet to settle the Canon, but simply to determine what books should be read out in the congregation. This explains the otherwise unaccountable omission of the Revelation, which could not fail to be known to them, Laodicea being one of the seven churches more peculiarly under St. John's care, to which it was addressed, and to whom no doubt a manuscript of it must have been confided. A similar catalogue had been given before by Cyril Bishop of Jerusalem, by Eusebius, and by

Athanasius, including the Revelation. We may ascend as high as to Origen, A.D. 210; and (since the publication of Jones's instructive Dissertation on the Canon) a fragment has been discovered of the lost dialogue of the still earlier author Caius, in which he enumerates twenty-two books out of twenty-seven, and makes a marked distinction between the Canonical and the Apocryphal, saying that it is not fit that gall should be mixed with honey. Neither the names of the persons concerned in forming the Canon, nor the date of it, can be ascertained; but it is a probable opinion, that it was determined by St. John, who long survived his brethren. We at least know that he approved the three first gospels, and added by way of a supplement his own, and it may be presumed that the books once disputed were subsequently added.

This statement by no means makes oral tradition the rule of faith. Oral tradition, for example, sufficiently assures us that a certain ancient document is Magna Charta, and that the Statute books contain the laws, but it does not therefore follow that Tradition can report to us the substance of these laws better than the written laws themselves[a]. Suppose any oral message, consisting of an hundred particulars to be delivered to an hundred persons of different degrees of understanding and memory, by them to be conveyed to an hundred more, who were to convey it onwards; is it probable that this message with all its particulars would be as truly conveyed through so many mouths, as if it were written down in so many letters, concerning which every bearer need say no more than this, that it was delivered to him as a letter, written by him whose name was subscribed to it? The letter is a message in which no man need err, but as to the errand, every messenger may either forget, or make some mistake in it.

It was a great omission in King Edward's Article, that though the sufficiency of Scripture is asserted, Scripture is not defined; and this is the more extraordinary, since we are not only at issue with the Church of Rome as to its authority, but as to the books of which it consists. In this

[a] Lancaster's Bampton Lectures.

enlarged edition under Elizabeth this is rectified, a list being given of the books which we retain, and of those we reject. In the enumeration, Nehemiah is considered as a continuation of Ezra, and therefore called, the second book of Esdras, his name being so written in the Vulgate. The Bible of the Roman Catholics, it is to be remembered, is not identical with that of the Protestants. The Lutherans are satisfied, generally speaking, with Luther's translation, and we with our excellent authorized version, yet neither regard them as infallible; and therefore if any dispute on the meaning of a particular text arise, we refer to the original. The Council of Trent, on the contrary, professing to have constantly in view the removal of error, and the preservation of the purity of the gospel, has declared, that the vulgate Latin translation should be held as authentic in all public lectures, disputations, and sermons, and that no one shall under any pretence presume to reject it. Having thus decreed, the Council with reason ordered a careful revision of St. Jerome's version. This was executed in 1590 by the command of Sixtus V. who denounced with the greater excommunication not even to be absolved by the Pope, any person who should presume to change the smallest particle. Yet Clement VIII. published only two years later an improved edition, with no less than two thousand corrections.

Not only has Rome substituted a translation for the originals, but it includes in the Bible several books which our Reformers rejected. Our Lord acknowledges the same division of the Law, the Psalms, and Prophets, as Josephus, who was almost his contemporary: "We have not," says that author[q], "myriads of books differing from each other, but only twenty-two, which comprehend the history of all past time, and are justly believed to be divine. And of these, five are the works of Moses, which contain the laws, and an account of things from the creation of man to his death: the Prophets then recorded the transactions of their own times in thirteen books: and the four remaining ones contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human

[q] Against Appian. i. 8.

life." How our thirty-nine books are more particularly reduced to this number, is not settled by any authority; but we have evidence enough from the modern Jews compared with this passage, that all our books are comprehended in the three classes. The Jews reduced their sacred books to twenty-two, the number of letters in their alphabet; but it appears, that in the time of Jerome some persons, as now, made twenty-four; and this is easily done, as Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the Chronicles might reckon respectively for one or two, and, according to Jerome, Ruth was detached from Judges, and the Lamentations from Jeremiah. The historical books, as we call them, are arranged by them among the Prophets, which shows their opinion that they are as much inspired as the rest. So far of the Old Testament collectively: and when we examine the authority of particular books, we shall find our Lord's attestation to the inspiration of more of them than we should have supposed. I premise that we receive the same books as the Jews, and that their scriptures are authorized by our Saviour without any exception; and when blaming them for superseding the Scriptures by their traditions, he gives no intimation of their having added to, taken from, or in any way corrupted them. Also St. Paul, calling them *the Oracles of God*, committed to their care, implies that he found no fault in their preservation of them. When our Lord was tempted by the devil, he put the tempter to flight by texts chosen from Deuteronomy, saying, *it is written;* and if it had been asked where, He would have answered, in the word of God. In the sermon on the mount he continually refers to the Law as divine, declaring that he came *not to destroy but to fulfil it;* and charges the Pharisees with making void God's commandments, expressly referring to the fifth and seventh. He in this way attests the reality of many of the events recorded in the Pentateuch, as the creation, the institution of marriage, the deluge, and the fate of Sodom, and of Lot's wife; and in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, he names Moses and the Prophets as sufficient, and therefore inspired guides. He likewise refers to the history of David, of the Queen of

Sheba, and of Elijah, and Jonah, and bears testimony to several verses of the Psalms, and the Prophets[q].

The external testimony to the integrity of the Hebrew text is stronger than is generally supposed. The examination of manuscripts, commenced by Kennicott and carried on by De Rossi and others, has proved the care with which the Jews have preserved their Scriptures; for it appears from their collations, that all that they compared were of the same family, exhibiting scarcely any various readings of importance. No collusion can be imagined between Jews and Christians, who have been in opposition to each other from the beginning; and neither party, supposing it to have had the will, had the power of interpolating or altering any of the books of the Old Testament. The Septuagint translation substantially represents the Hebrew text before the incarnation, and that and the other Greek versions vouch for its integrity in their respective ages. The Chaldee Targums or versions carry us back to a still earlier period; and for the Pentateuch we have the additional authority of the Samaritan copy, which must have existed before the captivity of Israel, and is probably nearly as ancient as the disruption of the state into two kingdoms, since neither the ten nor the two tribes were likely to accept a copy from the other. Assuming this view to be correct, we have all the evidence which the case will admit, for it ascends beyond that for the authenticity of the poems of Homer, the earliest of uninspired compositions.

In our authorized Bible there are inserted between the Old and New Testament nine books, six historical, and the remainder moral or didactic, with a few additional chapters to Esther and Daniel. And these are called Apocryphal, hidden or secret, either because their authors were unknown, or that they were not read out in the congregation. In the Septuagint and in the Vulgate they are intermixed with the others, so that the unlearned reader may not easily discover that they are not entitled to equal authority; and

[q] Ps. viii; lxxxii; cx; cxviii; Isaiah vi. 9; Daniel x. 27; Hosea vi. 6; Jonah i. 17; Micah vii. 6; Malachi iii. 1; iv. 5, 6.

the firm adherence of the British and Foreign Bible Society to its principle of circulating nothing but the Word of God, has alienated from it many of the Lutherans. Our reformers placed them in a supplement, and sheltered their rejection of their authority under St. Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, and a better judge of the question than Augustin or any other ancient writer. The following is the original of the passage translated in the Article, and is taken from his preface to the books ascribed to Solomon. "Sicut ergo Judith et Tobiæ et Maccabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia sed eas inter canonicas Scripturos non recipit, sic et hac duo volumina legit ad adificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticarum dogmatum confirmandam." The Church, that is, the Church at large, not merely the English branch of it, orders them to be read, as she does homilies or sermons. In the former they are cited occasionally as Scripture, but no chapters of the books of Esdras, Maccabees, or Esther are read out in the congregation, and no sunday lessons are taken from the remaining books. Neither our Lord or his Apostles appeal to them; and Josephus says of them in general, "There is a continuation of writings from Artaxerxes to the present time, but they are not considered deserving of the same credit, because there was not a clear succession of prophets." The early Christians do not bring proofs of doctrine from them, though they sometimes introduce passages for the sake of their moral instruction. And those who give catalogues of canonical books may be said to omit them, though the exception of a book or two may occur in some of their lists. They were mostly the works of the Jews of Alexandria. One can hardly suppose that the Wisdom of Solomon was meant to pass for more than a successful imitation of his writings: and the prologues to the most valuable of them, Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, is so far from claiming equality with the Law and the Prophets for this compilation, that it calls the author an imitator of Solomon, and describes him as no more than a man of great diligence and wisdom, who did not only gather the grave and short sentences of wise men, but himself also uttered some of his own, full of

much understanding and wisdom." A few of his maxims are objectionable: and, as might be expected, the work can bear no comparison with the inspired Proverbs; but our jealousy for the superiority of the Bible may perhaps make us unjust; and it must be allowed to be a valuable compendium of ethics, far excelling the precepts of any heathen moralists, yet owing its superiority to the light reflected from the Scripture. According to Dupin, the apocryphal books were first received as canonical by a provincial synod at Hippo, A.D. 393, but subject to the confirmation of the Church beyond the sea; and its decree was accepted by the Pope and bishops of Italy, but was not formally established before the Council of Trent. It rejected however the Prayer of Manasseh, and the third and fourth books of Esdras, apparently because they were not in the old Latin version. Bellarmine has made great use of these books, arguing from them in favour of purgatory, and the worship of saints, quoting Wisdom in commendation of monastic life, and supporting papal supremacy from Judith.

Happily there is no Apocrypha to the New Testament; for though fragments of many spurious works under the name of Apostles are extant, none of them have been acknowledged by the Church; and the most cursory examination of any will convince a reader, that such idle and sometimes objectionable legends will be accepted as Scripture by no reasonable person. Fortunately the canon of the New Testament was fixed at an early date; and in the catalogues, beginning with that of Origen, all the books are enumerated, except in some, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation. Eusebius, our earliest informer, divides the Scriptures into the books acknowledged by all, and those which had been spoken against by some, but were in his time generally received, and were believed to be authentic by himself. These are in number *seven*, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of James and Jude, the second of Peter, and the second and third of John, and the Revelation. All are cited as Scriptures by authors who lived near their time, and their doctrine is in harmony with those books of which no doubt was ever entertained. In those early times the

communication between distant countries was not so rapid and so frequent as it has been since; and therefore letters addressed to the Christians of one country might remain for years unknown to those of another. Gospels would spread sooner and farther than Epistles, for no one could well go to teach Christianity any where, without taking with him one. Epistles would have a more confined and local interest, and these to particular Churches would sooner be acknowledged than those to dispersed converts. Suppose any one to ask whether or not the Epistles to the Corinthians and that of James were authentic, the former he might be sure to find at a well-known city, and many witnesses ready to vouch for its genuineness; and this certainty would have weight at any distance, whereas the evidence of the latter would be more scattered and feeble. Their being then received upon examination, after being confounded with other books, is a strong presumption in their favour, a more rigid trial than if they had met with acceptance on their first appearance; and it is a satisfactory reflection, that the claims of these books have been weighed and allowed, when the materials for forming a judgment were more abundant than at present. Pursuing this thought, we ask how it happens that all Christians have long since agreed upon their authenticity? This is no ordinary phenomenon; a point once disputed generally continues to be disputed, but in this there is now no dissenting Church, scarcely an hesitating individual.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is quoted by Barnabas Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria, as may be seen in Lardner's elaborate and accurate work; the Councils of Laodicea, A.D. 364, and Carthage, A.D. 397, show, that by that time all doubt was at an end. The Epistle is in general ascribed to Paul: and if the language be thought too classical, which is the main objection with critics, we may suppose that it was composed in Hebrew, and turned into Greek by Luke, Silvanus, or some other of his companions. The internal evidence is strong, for it is such a commentary upon the Law as we might expect from him. Timothy is spoken of in it in a manner like that of Paul; the term Medi-

ator occurs in this and twice in the other Epistles which have been always ascribed to him, and in no other part of Scripture; and a resemblance may be pointed out to passages in his unquestioned writings[r]. The Epistle of James is acknowledged by the earliest Fathers, but it does not seem to have reached those of the West, as Tertullian and Cyprian. Its *apparent* opposition to St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, as set forth in his Epistle to the Romans universally received, might for a season delay its reception: and its being more moral than doctrinal, is a reason why it should be quoted less often. The Second Epistle of Peter contains allusions not likely to be in a forged letter, to his presence at the transfiguration, (i. 18.) and to our Lord's foretelling his death, (i. 14.) which he intimates to be near. The difference of style which has been brought forward against it is limited to a single chapter, which strikingly resembles, not only in matter but in unusual words, the Epistle of Jude; and it is thought with probability, that they had both before them the same written description of false teachers, from which they borrowed both facts and remarkable expressions. It is alluded to by our earliest Fathers, as Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus. We cannot be surprised that the two short Epistles of St. John should be at first neglected as private letters. It is only the circumstances that led them to be regarded as catholic which caused them to be placed in the canon. If we take them to be written to remedy evils then common, though with a view only to two particular instances, they might be in time perceived to be generally applicable. By calling himself not an Apostle but only an elder, some were led to ascribe them to another John mentioned by Eusebius; but there is reason to think he took this title on account of his old age, and to avoid assuming too much consequence. The internal evidence is, I should say, decisive, since many of the verses are identical with those in his undisputed Epistle. The Epistle of Jude has early evidence in its favour, and the only difficulty is concerning the quotation from Enoch; but though the

[r] Heb. v. 12. compared with 1 Cor. iii. 2; Heb. xii. 3; Gal. vi. 9; xiii. 16 Phil. iv. 18.

book which now bears his name is fabulous, the verse with which it begins might in substance have been handed down by Tradition. And certainly it opens that book, and is unconnected with what follows. The Apocalypse has the earliest and most frequent attestations to its authenticity; and such is its nature and obscurity, that it was not likely to have been received unless known to be written by the Apostle. Its authority, however, sunk, as it was found to give occasion to gross interpretations of the Millenium, which led to an early rejection of that doctrine of the first Christians. Its genuineness was then called in question, and it was gradually neglected, but rose again into repute at the Reformation, when the reformers generally interpreted the woman on the scarlet coloured beast, the mystical Babylon, as symbolical of Papal Rome.

Thus we have seen, that the Roman Catholics and all Protestants differ in the point from which they start, the Rule of Faith; and therefore it is not surprising that they arrive at such different conclusions on so many articles of belief. Ours is a simple and a reasonable one; and as they acknowledge the Bible to be the Word of God, they cannot deny its truth, and are obliged in order to make room for Tradition, to magnify its difficulties, and to misrepresent and exaggerate the results of private judgment. The Protestant Churches, however, they must be aware, have not been content with opening the Bibles to their members, and leaving them to form a creed for themselves. All have their authorized confessions and catechisms; and divines in each have written learned treatises on the various articles of faith, and compiled bodies of divinity; but in these works and in their sermons, whatever they advance is substantiated by texts of Scripture. The Roman Catholic also admits the authority of the sacred Scriptures, but it is according to the sense of Holy Mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation; and he must also interpret them according to the unanimous sense of the Fathers. He also receives all things declared in all the Councils, particularly in that of Trent; and must firmly admit all the Traditions of the Church. The Romanist

then who would seek the truth for himself must examine a multitude of volumes, some of which are contradictory, and can only be read in Latin. By the unlearned, or even to the learned who has other pursuits, such a search must be given up in despair. What then becomes of their boasted certainty, which they oppose to an assumed doubt? Milner contemptuously pities those who cannot even make an act of faith. But can the Roman Catholic? Let the reader judge from this definition in the Douay Catechism: 'Oh great God! I believe all the sacred truths which thy holy Catholic Church believes and teaches, because thou hast revealed them.' But not a single one is specified. For real belief then they substitute what they call implicit faith. Those who believe in doctrines on examination of them are explicit believers; those who believe in a presumption of their credibility, implicit; nor is such belief considered less efficacious than the former. Thus it is an imputative faith; and the Romanist believes by proxy, and cheats himself by reliance upon what is done by others.

It is the Word preached that has been in all ages and countries the ordinary instrument of conversion; and indeed before the invention of printing the written word was accessible to few, and reading was a rare accomplishment. More than eighteen centuries have passed, since the inspired preachers of the faith have been removed; and we have now no authoritative guide, except the few and short works which the Holy Spirit suggested to them to write, that after their decease believers might have the facts and doctrines and precepts and promises of Christianity in remembrance. Even now, in a cultivated and reading age, the majority of professing Christians still receive their knowledge of religion from the lips of living ministers, or from written discourses and tracts; but all teaching will be of no avail, and will fall without power on the ear, except in as much as directly or indirectly the instruction is drawn from the pure well of scriptural truth. To the Law and to the Testimony the parochial minister at home as well as the missionary abroad must appeal, as his own guide, and without prayerful meditation on the Word, he will have no security

for his own orthodoxy. Let any who think this an exaggerated statement, examine the annals of the Jesuit missionaries recorded by themselves, and they will find in China, Japan, and India, unjustifiable suppression of vital truth in deference to pagan prejudices; the adoption of idolatrous rites, denounced as such even by Popes, and false reports of the country from which they came, and the religion they professed, by which they boasted that they had procured a more favourable reception. There are still countries only accessible to these silent missionaries; for if the preachers of the Gospel should venture to return to Madagascar, we can hardly doubt that the tyrant queen would put them, as she has done some of her own converted subjects, to death. It is painful to think, that in countries much nearer home, wherever the Pope has unrestricted power, the simple perusal of the Bible is an offence, punished in the noble by exile, in the lower ranks by imprisonment. To the indiscriminate perusal of the Word of God we have seen that the Roman Church ascribes the overflowings of ungodliness and vice, but mediæval history teaches us a different lesson. The chronicles of those days depict a period of feudal tyranny and general licentiousness, of coarseness and violence in the gentry, and of ignorance and insolence in the clergy. As the morning of the Reformation began to dawn, there came with Gospel truth a moral improvement; and to what human agency can we ascribe it but to Wycliff's translation of the Scriptures in our country, and in Germany to the version of Martin Luther? And what but a prevalent knowledge of the Word of God has produced the comparative purity of manners in Protestant countries, beyond the standard set up in Spain, and the Spanish settlements in America, in Portugal, and in Italy? To judge of the effects of an open Bible, let us turn to the least promising portions of our native island, and even there we shall find the spiritual darkness vanishing before this marvellous light, which, while it enlightens the understanding, purifies and warms the heart. In the retired recesses of our great towns, swarming with a squalid miserable and depraved population, it is only the Scripture reader that will care to penetrate.

There by a self-denying and judicious reading of the Word he will often bring the sinner to a conviction of guilt, and gradually prepare him to be a worshipper in the house of God; while in the country, the pious cottager, who has digested the Word's saving truth, finds in it a transforming efficacy, which, while it assures him of a blessed futurity, ennobles his present character, and stamps upon him the genuine dignity of an immortal being saved by unmerited favour, and ready at his Master's call to run with alacrity in the way of his commandments. Such a book may well be called in its own language, *a light to the feet, and a lamp unto the path;* and never can we be sufficiently grateful, that it is not so large a volume as to deter the busy from its perusal, or to be placed beyond the purchase of any but the rich. Far more than any classical remains does it deserve to be read by day and to be meditated on in the night. A cursory though a repeated perusal will never satisfy one who has tasted of the sincere milk of the Word, and grown thereby. He will gladly avail himself of the help afforded by theological works, but his ambition will be that the Word shall dwell richly in his heart through faith; he will be constantly digging into this mine for himself, and he will not only repeat the Advent Collect, but really make it his own petition, that not only by hearing and reading, but by marking and inwardly digesting all holy Scriptures, he may ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which God the Father has given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The Spirit breathes upon the Word,
And brings the truth to sight;
Precepts and promises afford
A sanctifying light.

A glory gilds the sacred page,
Majestic, like the Sun,
It gives a light to every age;
It gives, but borrows none.

The hand that gave it still supplies
The gracious light and heat;
His truths upon the nations rise;
They rise, but never set.

Let everlasting thanks be thine,
For such a bright display;
It makes a world of darkness shine,
With beams of heavenly day.

My soul rejoices to pursue
The steps of him I love,
Till glory breaks upon my view
In brighter worlds above.

LECTURE VII.

ARTICLE VII.

OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

This Article is supplementary to and explanatory of the sixth, and is opposed to those who in different ages and in various manners have set aside or misconceived the authority of the Old Testament. The Gnostics were led by their peculiar notions to reject it, and some of them went so far as to maintain, that the God of the Old Testament was not merely a Spirit inferior to the Supreme Being, but that Christ was manifested to overthrow the system which he had introduced. At the time of the Reformation the Antinomians abounded, and Luther was obliged to write against them, for they had perverted the doctrine of justification by faith alone; and because it was rightly maintained that works were not meritorious, they argued that the moral law was abrogated. It was probably in opposition to this

pernicious heresy that our Article was chiefly drawn up; but there was a contrary error even then beginning, and which during the civil wars attained its height, that the ceremonial and political laws of Israel were binding upon Christians. There is also a confused notion prevalent more or less among many, that the old dispensation is superseded, instead of a clear understanding that since the fall there has been but one method of salvation for a sinner, that is, through the atonement effected by the propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God; and that the only difference between the believers of these times and of those preceding Christ is, that the latter looked forward to a Redeemer promised, the former back to one already come.

Though the first proposition of our Article, "The Old Testament is not contrary to the New," brings on a comparison of the whole of both, yet since the reason assigned is, that "both teach everlasting life through Christ," they need be compared only in that particular: and in order to show that they are not contradictory with regard to this leading doctrine, it will suffice to examine the Old, since none doubt Christ has clearly brought life and immortality to light; and if we prove that the Old Testament promises Christianity, it must follow that it also promises life and immortality. Now the promise of Christ is the grand subject of prophecy, from the mysterious intimation of it to Eve in paradise, until its completion in Malachi. Express declarations of a future state are to be found in the ancient Scriptures, though they are both less frequent and more obscure than might have been presumed in a divine revelation. Much misconception has prevailed upon the subject by confounding the Mosaic dispensation, or the system of divine appointment, under which the Israelites were governed as a *nation*, with the belief of the *individuals* recorded in the Bible, who lived under or before that dispensation. Warburton has built his argument for the divine legation of Moses upon the fact, that unlike other Legislators who have called in religion to their aid, he has purposely kept a future life out of sight. He thus recapitulates his celebrated theory. The doctrine of a future state is necessary to

the well-being of civil society under the *ordinary* government of Providence; and all mankind have ever so conceived of the matter. The Mosaic institution was without this support, and yet it did not want it; what follows, but that the Jewish affairs were administered by an *extraordinary* Providence, distributing reward and punishment with an equal hand, and consequently that the mission of Moses was divine. Thus far we may agree with him; and it might easily be shown, that a *national* code of laws can have no other than *temporal* sanctions: but this great writer, pushing his doctrine to an extreme, which his hypothesis by no means required, unhappily proceeds to state, that in no one place of the Mosaic institutes is there the least mention, or any intelligible hint of the rewards and punishments of another life, and that to the time of the captivity, the Israelites were never influenced by it. I may well say *unhappily*, for too many even in our time, still dazzled by the splendid paradoxes, and borne down by the learning and dogmatism of this eminent prelate, maintain this doctrine in its full extent, hereby contradicting this very Article, and classing themselves with those whom our Saviour condemns, as greatly erring, and not understanding the Scriptures, when he shows that a future life was revealed to Moses by God when he addressed him out of the fiery bush. Warburton himself seems to have been hurried by his ardour into this untenable and unnecessary extension of his theory, for he afterwards so qualifies and limits it, as to remove from it whatever is offensive and objectionable, though his followers and admirers almost universally overlook these concessions in subsequent editions. A future state of rewards and punishments made no part of the Mosaic dispensation, yet the Law had certainly a spiritual meaning to be understood when the fulness of time was come, and hence it possessed the nature and afforded the efficacy of prophecy. In the interim, the mystery of the Gospel (including by this learned writer's own definition the doctrine of a future retribution) was occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation, and the dawning of it was gradually

opened by the prophets to the people[a]. In another passage[b], he limits his position to the Mosaic *dispensation*, saying, that no texts are to the purpose after the time of David. Thus Warburton himself supplies a contradiction to the offensive part of his theory, which we may accept as modified by Dr. Greaves, that Moses did not sanction his laws by the promise of future rewards and punishments, and that the history he records shows not only his own belief in it, (which Warburton admits,) but contains passages which must suggest it to every reflecting mind, though with less clearness than the succeeding works of the Old Testament, which exhibit this great truth with a perpetually increasing brightness, till by the prophets it was so authoritatively revealed, as to become an article of popular belief. How far the Israelites understood the promises of a Saviour and of eternal life, we cannot of course ascertain; no doubt, while some more or less entered fully into the spiritual meaning of types and ceremonies, there were many who rested in the letter, contented with the plainer, and to them more attractive, promises of temporal prosperity; yet we cannot imagine that those to whom spiritual blessings were revealed, and often as a special favour for their consolation, could be themselves ignorant of their meaning. As to Abraham, our Lord's declaration, that he saw His day and rejoiced, doubtless when he was favoured with a figurative representation of it in the ram caught in the thicket, and *provided* as a substitute for his son, seems decisive. Christ was promised to Abraham; and the reasoning in Galatians[c] seems to imply, that Abraham had a competent understanding of the promise and covenant made with him. How indeed can a person be a party in a covenant, without some knowledge of its conditions? As to Moses, it is not easy to conceive, that when he wrote of Christ, he had not some conception of the person and offices of that legislator and prophet like unto himself, whose coming he foretold; and this will be confirmed by the declaration in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that he *feared not the wrath of the King, but endured as seeing him who is invisibte;* and

[a] B. vi. s. v. [b] B. vi. s. i. [c] Gal. iii. 16.

that *he chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.* Indeed the whole chapter shows of all the elders from the time of righteous Abel, that they looked not for transitory promises. "The Patriarchs before and after Job, and the Israelites before Christ, had a notion of a future state. By sacrifices was plainly shown that there was a way open to the divine favour, and the favour of God imports happiness, which to Abel, who, because he was accepted by God, was unjustly slain, could be only in a *future state,* and dying on account of that faith; *he being dead yet speaketh* of an invisible state of reward hereafter. The translations of Enoch and Elijah in two distant ages, were also demonstrations of a future state of reward and glory[d]." Of the Patriarchs it is expressly said, that they *did not receive the things promised, seeing them only afar off;* and because they were not satisfied with Canaan, but desired *a heavenly country, therefore God had prepared them a city,* a city concerning the site of which there can be no doubt, for it is one *whose builder and maker is God. Wherefore,* the writer infers, *God is not ashamed to be called their God:* and of this we have our Lord's interpretation, that since *God is not the God of the dead, they are now alive unto Him.* Can we then suppose that they would have suppressed this important truth, since it was the support of their virtue and the source of their consolation through all the sufferings of their eventful lives? The peculiar purposes of the divine economy did not permit the Jewish lawgiver to employ it as the *sanction of his laws,* which were to be enforced by an immediate extraordinary providence, but it was his own support as an *individual,* and doubtless that of many of his people, in his own and succeeding generations, in their *individual,* though it could not be in their *national,* capacity. The Psalms contain strong assurances of a future state, nor is it easy to conceive how such passages as, *Thou shalt show me the path of life; in thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand there is pleasure for evermore*[e]—*As for me, I will*

[d] Taylor's Scheme. [e] Ps. xvi.

behold thy presence in righteousness; and when I awake up after thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it[g]—*God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for he shall receive me*[h]—can be neutralised by others seemingly of a different tone. This doctrine, incidentally mentioned in the Proverbs[i], is the great basis of Ecclesiastes, the object of which is to prove the insufficiency of earthly pursuits to procure happiness here, and thence to infer its existence in a future state beyond the grave. It is unnecessary to trace the doctrine through the Prophets, because their knowledge of it is conceded; but I cannot refrain from referring to the asseveration of Job, which was probably the earliest committed to writing, and which if we adopt this the ancient, the obvious, and the only reasonable interpretation, because in harmony with the scope of the book, well deserved the solemnity with which it was introduced: *O that my words were now written, that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever*[k]*!*

The entire omission of future punishments in the Mosaic Law, I apprehend, only excites surprise, because as we do not live under that dispensation, and his statutes are not referred to by our judges, we are apt to consider it not so much as a code of laws, as a system of ethics. In the latter point of view the omission would have been unreasonable, in the former it ought to have been expected; and Michaelis, in his Commentaries on this Law, makes the following judicious reflections. "I do not wonder at the Hebrew legislator's omission of any reference to rewards or punishments in another world, but at the short-sightedness of those who look for such a sanction to a civil and political constitution. Moses was no impostor or enthusiast, and such alone can sanction civil laws by the terrors of futurity. God we know will not punish all, even of the most heinous capital offences beyond the grave; for even the greatest criminal, who even at his last hour throws himself unreservedly on his mercy, may escape everlasting misery. No legislator, since he cannot read the heart,

[g] Ps. xxi. xlix. [h] Ps. lxxiii. [i] Proverbs iv. 18; xiv. 32.
[k] Greaves on the Pentateuch.

would venture to lay down such a law, since it would be liable to endless exceptions; and now instead of threatening such criminals with the torments of hell, the mercy of Christian governments gives them time and means, as the attendance of a minister of religion, to lead them to repentance.

The remainder of the Article is designed to rectify opposite errors, then beginning to appear, which in a later age became prevalent, and have not yet altogether ceased, respecting the obligation of the Mosaic Law. While one party judaised, deeming the civil and political regulations of the Hebrew commonwealth the model after which a Christian state should be formed, there was another that regarded obedience to its moral precepts as an intolerable burden, not to be endured by those who had been admitted into the glorious liberty of the Gospel. These have in consequence been called by their opponents Antinomians.

The Jews maintain the perpetual obligation of the Law, and appeal to the solemn asseveration of their legislator continually repeated, that his statutes should be kept *for ever, throughout their generations, in all their dwellings*[u]. Other passages, however, occur, that show that the expression must not be taken literally; and that in many instances it is clear that eternity means no more than an unlimited futurity, and that a law which has no definite duration assigned to it, is considered perpetual, because no time can be specified at which its authority is to cease. While the Israelites sojourned in the wilderness like the wandering Arabs, it was required of any who would kill a sheep or bull, to bring it as an offering to the Lord. Such a law however would have been impracticable, when they were settled as a nation in the promised land, and it was consequently abrogated[x]. The Jews also urge, that on our own confession the Law was dictated by the infinite wisdom of the Deity, and that

[u] Levit. xiii. 14. 21. 31. 41.

[x] Deut. xii. 15. 20. Strangers, after a price paid for them, are to be bondmen for ever Lev. xxv. 46. Yet they might be at any time manumitted, and seem to be so called in contrast to Israelites, whose term of slavery must expire at the next jubilee. Michaelis gives several other instances.

if it were not the best that could have been devised, it implies imperfection to promulgate it, or, and if the best, to repeal it. Yet it is the highest wisdom not to enact a code abstractedly the best, but one which will best suit the circumstances and capabilities of a people; and as they change to introduce suitable alterations. What it was wise to introduce to effect a particular object, it may be equally wise to abolish, when that object has been attained. The many statutes designed to insulate the Israelites from other nations, that they might dwell alone, and carefully preserve the knowledge of the one true God, had no inherent excellence, and were ready to vanish away when He came, who though a Jew by birth, was to be the King of the whole earth. The time being come when the partition wall was to be removed, and Jew and Gentile were to become one people under the promised Messiah, *in whom all the nations of the earth* were to be blessed; the many laws which prevented their amalgamation had become not only useless but injurious; and the sacrificial service which prefigured the offering of the only victim that could really atone for sin ought to pass away, when all these types had been fulfilled in the propitiatory death of our Redeemer. Thus to take a son who is come to maturity from his schoolmaster is as much an act of wisdom, as it was before to place him under him. St. Paul calls the Law *our schoolmaster*, to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith; but after *that faith is come*, he adds, *we are no longer under a schoolmaster*[l]; and the Epistle to the Galatians is written on purpose to prove, that the ceremonial law has been superseded by Christianity. The author reproves them for their folly in wishing to return to its *beggarly elements*, and to be *entangled again with the yoke of bondage*, instead of *standing fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free*. In the same spirit he says to the Colossians, *Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ*[m]: and in the Epistle to the Hebrews[n] it is argued, from the transference of the Priest-

[l] Gal. iii. 24. [m] Col. ii. 16, 17. [n] Heb. vii. 12.

hood from the tribe of Levi to that of Judah in our Lord's person, that there is made of necessity a change also in the Law. The same Epistle declares the weakness and unprofitableness of the Law, which is therefore disannulled; and not only shows that the first covenant hath given place to a better one, *established upon better promises*, but quotes Jeremiah[o], Isaiah[p], and Zechariah[q], as foretelling the change: *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Judah. He hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away*, is the comment of the inspired Apostle; and even some Jews have expected a a new law on the coming of the Messiah. The command to go up to Jerusalem thrice a year, is incompatible with universality; yet the universality of the religion of the Messiah is a frequent subject of prophecy[r]. The Jewish ritual could not therefore be perpetual, because it could not be universal. And as St. Paul taught it was to be abolished, he acted in consistency with his declarations, for he would not permit Titus a Greek to be circumcised, and withstood Peter to the face, because on the arrival of certain Judaizing brethren, he left off eating with the Gentiles. God indeed had shown Peter by a vision, that the distinction of meats, one of the peculiarities that prevented much social intercourse with Gentiles, was at an end; and the Apostles in their council[s] refused to put the yoke of the ceremonial law upon the neck of Gentile converts, only requiring them to abstain out of charity from certain things that would have offended the converts from Judaism, as eating things strangled, and blood. The religious and ceremonial laws were blended together, and were calculated to prevent their intercourse with the rest of mankind. The obligation ceased with the coming of the Messiah, and the ceremonial

[o] Jer. xxxi. [p] Isa. liv. 13. [q] Zech. viii. 8.

[r] *From the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering.* Mal. i. 11. *The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.* Isa. xi. 9. *Men shall worship him every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen.* ii. 11.

[s] Acts xv.

law in its most important and significant part died as it were a natural death, when the destruction of the temple prevented the possibility of sacrificing in the only place in which it was allowed. No Christian thinks any part of this branch of the Law of perpetual obligation, except a few who have a scruple about the eating of blood, though the reason of that prohibition clearly ceased with the failure of animal sacrifices. In the idolatrous worship of the East, blood was drank. Moses, who was raised up by God to found a constitution so entirely under the divine government as to be called a Theocracy, had a special mission to forbid whatever had any connection with idolatry: he therefore prohibited any eating of blood on pain of death on this account, as well as for the primary reason, a reference to that most precious blood, without whose shedding in due time there could have been no remission of sins. This, says Michaelis, was so much an Asiatic usage, that the Romans notice it as a foreign custom; and in subsequent ages, as in the Roman persecutions, the Christians were required as a test of renunciation of their faith to burn incense; so were they in the Persian to eat blood. In the East the one and in the West the other were regarded as signifying a return to heathenism, because both were idolatrous practices; and therefore Moses forbade the eating of blood, while he consecrated instead of prohibiting many other rites by performing them in honour of the true God. In a moral point of view it is a matter of indifference, and the Council of Jerusalem viewed it in this light, for they recommended the Gentile converts to abstain from it, lest they should scandalize the believers of the race of Israel. I am not aware that the most scrupulous Christian ever thought himself bound by the other prohibitions of not eating the flesh of hogs and hares, or the use of butter or of fat, though in two places[t] it is united with blood; and in the latter it is said, that *the soul that eateth it shall be cut off from his people.*

The Article proceeds to say, "the *civil* precepts ought not of necessity to be received in any commonwealth."

[t] Lev. iii. 17. and vii. 25.

This proposition indeed is so reasonable, that it will hardly be disputed; and the circumstances in which Christian nations are placed, evidently render it in its whole extent impracticable; we may therefore venture to affirm, that except among some heated enthusiasts, the notion has never prevailed. The Apostle Paul had no scruple to retain his Roman citizenship, and to avail himself of the privileges which it conferred; and both he and Peter acknowledge the constituted authorities of the Roman empire, as entitled to the obedience of Christians for *conscience sake*. The Mosaic Law is in no part of the Bible enjoined, or in any way recommended to the rest of mankind for adoption; and Paul expressly declares without any exception that it does not bind Christians.

Still superstition has often led them to act in several respects in its spirit: and there is, I suppose, no state in Christendom whose code has not been materially modified by its statutes. Moses himself extols the wisdom of these laws: and it has been concluded hastily that they are abstractedly the best; and that it follows that they should be enacted in every state, with such omissions and alterations, as the change of religious worship renders indispensable. From a connected view of them, however, the judicious divine must see that they can never serve as a model, and will therefore refrain from blaming the legislature where the code differs, as in the punishment of theft and adultery, and from thus exalting himself from a preacher into a lawgiver. The first of these offences is punished much more severely with us; to the latter properly speaking the English common law assigns no punishment, because it comes under the cognisance of the ecclesiastical courts. It would be absurd if not impracticable to detach particular laws, and to attempt ingrafting them on other systems, to which they must prove incongruous. Thus many in their admiration of the mercy of the Mosaic law in not punishing theft with death, forget that the thief incapable of making restitution, according to that code, was to be sold for a slave? The Fathers and the Schoolmen have been led, by their admiration of the Mosaic prohibition of taking interest for the loan of

money, to brand it as a mortal sin, to be punished by excommunication. In our country it was first legalised in the reign of Henry VIII. up to a certain rate, which the law calls interest, and whatever exceeds it usury. The practice was still condemned by statesmen and moralists: and on this question Protestant divines inherited the prejudices of the Romanists. The declamation adopted even by philosophers against "the breed of barren metal," as it is styled by Shakespeare, is now universally allowed to be unworthy of them; and it is understood, that there is no more immorality in requiring remuneration for a loan of money, than in asking rent for a farm or a house. It is strange how long it was before men even of ability could distinguish between a moral precept and a political regulation, especially since the Israelites were allowed to take interest from strangers. In the peculiar position of the chosen people, commercial intercourse with other nations was discouraged; and the design of their constitution was to make them an agricultural people, with as much equality in every respect as was compatible with social order. The claim of David and his descendants on the allegiance of Israel, bears but a remote analogy to the connection between an European sovereign and his people; and the exaggerated notion of the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience, have been derived from the practice borrowed from the Bible of consecrating the sovereign with oil, and styling him the Lord's anointed. The law of retaliation seems to have been abolished by our Lord; and we learn from him, that the toleration of polygamy and divorce, a deviation from the original law of God, was not approved, but only permitted to the Israelites, on account of the hardness of their hearts. Tithes are considered by many as due by divine right, which they were by the law of Moses, according to which the whole land belonged to the Deity as Lord paramount, and was held under this tenure. Yet this, like our usury laws still extant, is an example of this once popular error. I do not say that the tenth may not be a proper proportion; and indeed it was not uncommon to have this payment among the heathens, and it was vowed as a voluntary

offering by Jacob; but it was no part of the provision of the Church under the Roman empire, and only began to prevail in an age, when the distinction between the Jewish polity and Christian ethics was confounded. I fully concede, that the Christian *minister* of religion is no less entitled than the Jewish *priest* to a becoming maintenance, but the amount is left to Christian legislatures to determine. St. Paul decides, that as the priests who wait upon the altar are partakers with the altar, *even so hath the Lord ordained, that they that preach the gospel should live by the gospel.* He reasons from the equity of the case, and quotes our Lord's authority, that *the labourer is worthy of his hire,* but never appeals to the provisions appointed for the priesthood. The Israelite had also a second title to give in charity: and this is perhaps the reason why among Christians the tenth has been a favourite sum to appropriate to that purpose, without taking into consideration the proportion it bore to their means, though it is obvious that to some it would be a burdensome sacrifice, more than was required, while from others it would be a scanty offering. To confounding the Jewish Theocracy, in which idolatry was high treason against Him who was their King as well as their God, with the constitution of Christian states, may be traced the condemnation of heretics to death, so opposite to the genius of Christianity, and positively condemned by our Lord. It has also led to an undue exaltation of the clerical character, by converting the *presbyter* into a priest, that is, a *sacrificer,* considering the clergy as the successors of Aaron and his family, whereas as such, Christ alone is the only Priest; and in Christianity there is but one sacrifice, made by Him, which the Roman Catholic indeed professes to *offer* continually, but we Protestants only *commemorate.* We conclude with the remark, that though the Mosaic code is not the best for us, it was the best for the Israelites, and for the purposes they were destined to fulfil. I may add, that as coming from God it deserves the highest respect, and that we may often derive valuable instruction from a judicious study of its spirit. For instance, the considerate attention to the poor, and the care that they should not be oppressed,

is deserving of our imitation; and we may infer from the frequent recurrence of the penalty of death, which seems supported by St. Paul's remark, that the magistrate is a *minister of God* that *beareth not the sword in vain;* that capital punishment even for other crimes than murder, though it ought to be most rare, is not an unauthorized assumption of the divine prerogative.

The Article having declared the abrogation of the *ceremonial* and *civil* law, is careful to establish the authority of the *moral;* for there were in that age persons who considered that the believer was released by Christ from the obligation of the whole. There is a more dangerous because a more plausible class of Antinomians, or opponents of the moral law, who in their zeal to magnify the glory and goodness of the Saviour, maintain that he has not only endured for us the punishment of the broken commands of God, but has obeyed them in our stead, imputing to us not only his merits, but making it needless for us to have holiness and virtues of our own. These abusers of gospel privileges turn *the grace of God into licentiousness,* making Christ the *minister of sin,* confounding our *title* to eternal happiness with our *fitness* for it. They fall into the error condemned by St. James; and in their eagerness to maintain the vital doctrine of justification by faith alone, overlook its inseparable connection with good works, and degrade it to a barren speculative unprofitable belief. This misrepresentation of Christianity we shall consider hereafter. The Antinomianism, however, which we are now considering, is of a different origin, and must be combated with other arguments. Those who maintain the abrogation of the whole Mosaic code argue, that moral precepts are so intermixed with others, that they know not how to separate them, and that even the Decalogue itself, which seems preeminently entitled to the term moral, and to which the Article mainly refers, has one commandment enjoining the sanctification of the seventh day, which Christianity has superseded. If we urge that this portion was promulgated with peculiar solemnity, spoken by the Deity himself, who is said to have *added no more,* while the rest was privately communicated to Moses, it is answered, that there are other precepts as

entirely moral in their nature, given in the latter manner; and that the Deity ceased to speak, not to mark the peculiar importance of these *ten words*, but because the people intreated that they might not hear his voice. It may however be replied, that God was pleased to write them, in order to mark their preeminence: and their nature shows that they are of perpetual obligation. The assertion that the Decalogue has been abrogated, as well as the Ceremonial Law, is startling; yet the difference between these two classes of divines is, I apprehend, more apparent than real, for both would earnestly maintain the immutability and eternal obligation of every jot and tittle of morality, whether formally announced in the Ten Commandments, or intermixed with laws of a temporary nature. And such ordinances must for ever bind the people of God, not as they did the Jews through their national legislator, but as a transcript of the divine will, revealed to Moses as intrinsically and immutably right; and consequently the duty not only of the family of Abraham, but of the wholê human race. It is acknowledged as such by the conscience in many cases, and would in all, if the moral sense had not been blunted and partially corrupted by original sin. It is obligatory on those who are not descended from Abraham, and to whom Moses is unknown: and would have been as binding upon Israel, if it had not been solemnly announced to those from Sinai. Divines, who do not regard the Decalogue as obligatory now, because so announced, are nevertheless anxious to show that these commandments have been reenacted by our Lord and his Apostles. The Sermon on the Mount confirms, they state, and enlarges the third, sixth, and seventh; the others are inculcated in various places; and the tenth, which is as it were a preservative of all the rest, and one as it is called of imperfect obligation, consequently not so much a statute as a moral precept, is summed up in this saying, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;* that *royal law*, as St. James terms it, which as it *worketh no ill* but good, is the *fulfilling of the Law*, as far as it concerns our fellow creatures.

There are only a few points which can admit of the

question, whether they be *ceremonial* or *moral*, that is, whether or not they are still obligatory. By far the most important of these is a dedication of one day in seven to Religion; nor is the subject without difficulty. The practice of Roman Catholics seems to show, that they consider it, with many members of our Church, as only an *ecclesiastical* regulation, like fast days and festivals, which the Church has authority to decree; and Calvin, and consequently the Reformed Church abroad, views it in the same light. Happily a different view prevails in both divisions of our island; and our Church, by incorporating the Decalogue into her service, and accompanying each commandment with a petition, that our hearts may be inclined to keep it, has, I conceive, committed us to the opinion, that it is binding still; but binding, I would say, in the *spirit*, not in the *letter*. The *substance*, I mean, is *moral*, the *circumstantials*, *ceremonial*. Thus to the Israelite it was a sign that he was in covenant with God; and in Deuteronomy the reason assigned for his keeping it is the commemoration of his deliverance from Egyptian bondage. As such, it ceased with the rest of the Law; and as such, it appears to be condemned in the Epistle to the Galatians; but we read in Isaiah lvi, that *blessed is he that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it*, in a passage which evidently alludes to the Gospel dispensation. It is to be kept then under the new covenant, as it was by the patriarchs before the giving of the Law, and as it was kept even in Paradise by our progenitors on their creation, for the commandment was originally to them; and the reason was recognised on Mount Sinai, a reason which applies, and will apply, and to the end of time, to all their descendants. The commemoration of God's resting after the creation, and the word *Remember*, by which the commandment is introduced in the Decalogue, seem clearly to show, that it was then only reenacted. And to this primary reason was superadded, in the case of Israel, a grateful recollection of deliverance from the temporal bondage of Egypt; to that of the Christian, the commemoration of deliverance from spiritual slavery, of which the former was a type. That it might be a better commemoration of redemption, it was transferred

to the day when that greater blessing was accomplished, the day on which our Saviour rose from the dead; hence our Sabbath is called the Lord's Day; and the transference we have reason to believe was made by the Apostles, who were authorized to bind and loose, that is, to make regulations for the Church. We conclude, therefore, that the consecration of *one* day in seven to God's service is a part of the moral law; but the choice of the day may be varied by the proper authority; the precise mode too commanded to the Israelite is not obligatory on us, as we learn from Christ's example; yet his axiom, *the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath*, shows the perpetuity of the ordinance; and that the mode of keeping it is left to a pious and reasonable discretion. It is an interesting thought, that as man, God's noblest work, was the last, his first day was given not to repose after fatigue, but dedicated to the active service of his Maker; and that the seventh day, which succeeded the six days' creation, was to Adam the first. I need not enlarge on the goodness of our heavenly Father, who knowing *whereof we are made*, and how apt his creatures are, though endowed with reason, even when walking in the light of revelation, to be drawn into forgetfulness of Him by pleasure or business, recalls us by this institution to a recollection of Himself. The sanctification of the day to his service, however imperfectly observed, and with exceptions much to be regretted, honourably distinguishes Britain from every other Christian state; and if a higher tone of morality, and a more Christian spirit, pervades our country, it is mainly to be ascribed to the keeping of the Lord's day. May we acknowledge the benefit by keeping it better ourselves, and not defrauding our dependents of the edification of it. I advisedly say defrauding, for if the Sabbath was made for man, man has a right to it for the refreshment and recruiting of his body and for the improvement of his soul, by the worship of his Creator, and the study of the word of Him who has not only created but redeemed him, and desires his sanctification and salvation.

LECTURE VIII.

ARTICLE VIII.

OF THE THREE CREEDS.

The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

Having premised that the holy Scriptures are the sole source of religious knowledge, and having enumerated the writings entitled to that appellation, the Articles proceed to acknowledge the three Creeds retained in our Liturgy, which state many particulars which it was not thought necessary to comprehend in such a scheme of doctrine as that before us, which requires rather a statement of the points in which we *differ* from other Churches, than those in which we *agree*. This acknowledgment sufficiently confutes the charge of heresy and of schism, in departing from the primitive faith, since we assent to the only Creeds which have been generally acknowledged, and which continued in use in the time of the Reformation. Yet faithful to the grand Protestant principle, we do not receive them because handed down by tradition, and on the authority of the Church, which another Article maintains "may err and has erred," but "affirm that they ought to be received thoroughly and believed, because they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture."

Our Saviour commissioned his Apostles *to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;* and it

was reasonable that none should be admitted into the Christian Church, that is, congregation, who did not profess their belief in the three Persons of the Trinity, *into* whose name or religion, they were baptized. The first Creeds or professions of faith seem to have contained no more; but then we must not understand that they were content with the bare assertion, that in the unity of the Deity there were three Persons, denominated Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but that they acknowledged their respective offices in the work of man's salvation, as designed by the first, accomplished by the second, and applied by the third; and this the ancients understood to be implied in the phrase used, which is not simply believe, but believe *in*. This remark is as early as Epiphanius, who, writing of the followers of Macedonius, the first who opposed the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and whose followers boasted of their entire adherence to the Nicene Creed, affirming that it did not maintain it, replies, that there was sufficient said therein to declare him God, though it is only I believe *in* the Holy Ghost, since we are directed not only to believe that there is a Holy Ghost, but *in* him; and Gregory of Nazianzum writes to the same effect, to prove that He is not a creature[a]. Bishops Bull and Pearson are indeed unfavourable to this distinction; and the latter remarks, that it is not observed in some Creeds, as in that of Cyril of Jerusalem, and that it is no more than a Hebraism for believe. Still I cannot but allow weight to the opinion above cited of a Greek, writing to Greeks in their own tongue; and at all events, it has prevailed in the Latin Church upon the authority of Augustin, where the same grammatical objections will not hold. "Non dicit credo Deum vel credo Deo, aliud enim est credere illi et illum et in illum. Credere illi est credere vera esse quæ loquitur credere illum credere quod ipsi Deus est credere in eum deligere eum, a belief of hope and affiance, credimus Paulo sed non cre-

[a] Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν κτίσμα πῶς εἰς αὐτὸ πιστεύομεν, οὐ γὰρ ταυτὸς ἔστι εἴς τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ πιστεύειν τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι θεότητος τὸ δὲ παντὸς πράγματος. But if He be a creature, how shall we believe in Him? For to believe in or concerning is not the same thing, the one refers to Deity, the other to any subject.

dimus in Paulum." The devil believes that God is, for an Apostle tells us[a] that *demons believe and tremble*, and it is indeed impossible that they should not; but to believe in God is to seek him with faith, and to transfer to him our love. To believe *in* him is to worship him, and to place one's self under his authority and dominion. But without dwelling longer on verbal niceties, we may affirm without fear of contradiction, that belief in the three Persons of the Godhead includes belief in whatever is affirmed in Scripture concerning their character, attributes, and operations.

In process of time each particular Church came to have had its Creed drawn up or approved by the Bishop: and each was enlarged as errors began to prevail; for new converts were naturally required not only to renounce the devil and the flesh, and to profess in general terms their faith, but to declare the doctrines they rejected; and in this way we may account for the introduction of almost every Article. As these errors chiefly prevailed among the inquisitive and disputatious Greeks, their Creeds enter most into detail. The West in early times was not agitated by theological discussions, which explains the brevity of the Roman Creed, retained by us under its popular title of that of the Apostles, a distinction probably derived from the fact, that the Church of Rome, as being founded by the two Apostles Peter and Paul, was early entitled Apostolical. This Creed was used at Baptism throughout that Patriarchate, though the Council of Ephesus and Chalcedon had enjoined the exclusive use of the Nicene: and we and other Protestants who inherited it did not reject it on our secession, since we believe whatever it affirms; but the Roman Church has long exchanged it for the latter, as it stands in her service and ours; and added to it at the Council of Trent, a declaration of adherence to the decrees of that and former Councils, and to Traditions and to the Fathers, and specifies the most important of their peculiar tenets, the whole of which is known by the name of Pius the Fourth's Creed, from the name of the Pontiff reigning at the time of the termination of that assembly.

[a] James ii. 19.

Several local Creeds are extant previous to that of Nice, the first adopted by the whole Church; and these, though varying in terms and in the order of arrangement, are substantially the same, and closely resemble that of Nice, as might be expected; for the 318 Bishops there assembled did not meet to form a new one, but to declare what was the original faith; and as the Arians denied our Lord's proper divinity, to condemn whom they were convened; it was necessary that they should be most full upon that article, and so word it that heretics might not shelter themselves under the ambiguity of received language.

I transcribe the earliest extant, that of Irenæus, (i. 1.) who calls it "the unalterable canon or rule of Truth, which every one received at his baptism."

"The Church, though it be dispersed all over the world from one end of the earth to the other, received from the Apostles and their disciples the belief in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and sea, and all things therein; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who preached by the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advent, and the nativity of the Virgin and passion, and resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension of the flesh of his beloved Son, Christ Jesus our Lord, into heaven, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of his Father to recapitulate all things, and raise the flesh of all mankind, that according to the will of the invisible Father, every knee should bow of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, to Jesus Christ our Lord, God and Saviour and King, and that every tongue should confess to him, and that he may exercise just judgment upon all, and send spiritual wickednesses and the transgressing and apostate angels and blaspheming men into everlasting fire, but grant life to all righteous and holy men, that keep his commandments, and persevere in his love, some from the beginning, others after repentance, on whom he confers immortality, and invests them with eternal glory."

This faith, he says, was the same in all the world, men professed it with one heart and one soul; for though there

were different dialects in the world, yet the power of the faith was one and the same. Tertullian furnishes two Creeds, which more closely resemble that of the Apostles; and we have another not unlike the Nicene, in the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, a work concerning the ritual and discipline of the early Church, which was once supposed to have been the work of the Apostles themselves, as the name implies, but is now allowed to be not earlier at the soonest than the end of the third century, yet even as such is an interesting document, Bingham gives us in addition the acknowledged Creeds of several Churches. I transcribe that of Jerusalem, the mother Church of all, as preserved in the catechetical discourses of St. Cyril, Bishop of that see.

"I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, the true God, by whom all things were made; who was incarnate and made man, who was crucified and buried, and the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who spake by the prophets. In one baptism of repentance, in the remission of sins, in one Catholic church, in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting." In none of these have we the communion of saints, or the descent into hell, which first appears in the Creed of Aquileia.

The Creed originally was only recited at Baptism, which was ordinarily administered at Easter and Whitsuntide. Its repetition in public worship was first ordered at Antioch, A.D. 471, and A.D. 571 at Constantinople; and was introduced from the East into Spain, A.D. 589, by a Council of Toledo, to prevent believers from lapsing into Arianism, from which they had been lately recovered. In the time of Charlemagne it was brought into the Gallican Church, though not approved by the Pope. It was finally received at Rome, A.D. 1014, four centuries after the daily use of it had been enjoined in Spain.

Rufinus relates as a tradition, that before the Apostles separated to preach to different nations, they composed the Creed, and ordained it to be a test of their future sermons, and a rule of faith to be given to believers; and other early writers go so far as to assign to each his particular Article, from which contribution it is said to have derived the name of Symbolum. To this it is objected, that contribution is not symbolum, but symbola; and the same authors give a more reasonable meaning, that of sign or watchword, by which the orthodox believer is distinguished not only from infidels, but from heretics. According to this tradition, Peter began with declaring his belief in God the Father Almighty; John followed with Maker of heaven and earth; and the rest in order; Matthias concluding with Life everlasting. It certainly divides into twelve propositions; and this probably gave rise to the fable, for such we can have no hesitation in pronouncing it; and it is obvious, from the way in which they express themselves, that it was not believed by the compilers of our Articles. Indeed the story is confuted by the fact, that several of the particulars were inserted from time to time. Thus on the authority of the same Rufinus, who gives us the tradition, we learn, that the descent into hell was neither in the Roman or Oriental Creeds, that the communion of Saints in none for four centuries, and that life everlasting does not occur in all. The early Creeds yet extant differ both in the articles and arrangement; and we cannot doubt, that if one had been drawn up by the Apostles even in a briefer form, it would have been retained by all churches without variation. Still it may be truly styled Apostolical, as substantially contained in the writings of the Apostles; and St. Paul gives us the rudiments of it in an inverted order, *One body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all*[b]; and in another place, *I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, that he was buried, and rose again the third day*[c]. The Creed, therefore, in its outlines may be considered as *the form of sound words*, delivered by the Apostles, enlarged

[b] Eph. iv. [c] 1 Cor. xv.

from time to time, and differently in different places, as circumstances rendered it expedient. Thus we learn from Rufinus, that whereas the Roman Creed began with, I believe in God the Father Almighty, there were in those of other churches words added, to exclude certain heresies; as in that of Aquileia, to Almighty was subjoined invisible, impassible, in opposition to the Sabellians and the Patripassians. So in the Eastern Creeds, the first article is in *one* God, and in *one* Lord Jesus Christ, because the Gnostics believed some of them in more Gods than one, and some made Jesus and Christ two distinct beings, who were not united till his baptism, and were separated again at the crucifixion. There were also Gnostics who denied that the true God was the maker of heaven and earth, which they considered to be the work of an inferior spirit, and deemed unworthy of Him, from their absurd notions concerning the inherent evil of matter. Almighty properly expresses not the attribute latent, but brought out into action; that is, God's providential government of the world, a doctrine even in these days not practically felt or even acknowledged by all Christians otherwise sound in the faith. This appears from the Greek term used, Παντοκράτωρ; and it is worthy of observation, that the same word Almighty, where it occurs afterwards, stands for Παντοδύναμος, which more properly means almighty, that is, omnipotent. By believing in Jesus the Christ, or the Messiah, we profess that a man who bore the former name was the anointed one, consecrated not by a material anointing like the kings of Israel, but by the unction of the holy Spirit, called by the Psalmist *the oil of gladness*, to his triple office of Prophet, Priest, and King. It appears from the New Testament, that at the time of his appearance, Messiah and the Son of God were convertible terms; thus, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*[d]. *I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world*[e]; and the word *only*, marks that he is such in a peculiar sense, not as we the creatures of God become his children by adoption, but in the proper one of a real son by generation. By calling him our Lord, we

[d] John i. 40. [e] John xi. 27; Matt. viii. 29.

acknowledge him as our rightful Master, who has purchased us by redemption, and that we have passed over from the usurped dominion of Satan, the prince of this world, whom we renounced in baptism. The Creed then proceeds to his humanity, declares his miraculous conception, his birth, his sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension, in opposition to the errors of the Gnostics, which we have considered already; and the time is fixed as in almost all the Creeds, that it might not be objected to as a fable. In this part of the ancient Creeds there is considerable variety; in those of Irenæus, the passion only is named, as including the rest; and in two of Tertullian's the crucifixion; in others, his burial comprehends his death; and all the four appear first in a Creed of St. Augustin.

The fundamental doctrine of the Resurrection was always a part of the Creed, but the sitting at the right hand first appears in that of Tertullian. We believe the Church, we do not believe in the Church, for the Church is not God, but the house of God; and the modern Greek Creed, in which it is followed by the French and low Dutch, repeats after the Holy Ghost, I believe. Holy first appears in Tertullian, as an epithet of the Church; and the Greeks afterwards added catholic and apostolic; so that we predicate of it unity, sanctity, universality, and apostolicity. The Unity, which is decidedly declared in the Creed of Constantinople, is well expressed in that early writer Irenæus. The Church although dispersed through the whole world, yet as if she dwelt in one and the same house, did diligently preserve the faith, believing it as if she had but one soul and one heart, and uniformly teaching and preaching it as if she had but one mouth; and this unity includes the love, concord, and connection, that there ought to be between particular members and particular churches; which understood here is declared in the following clause, which is not found in any Creed before St. Augustin, and probably not even in any of his genuine works. It was inserted on account of the secession of the Donatists, who although orthodox in doctrine, yet by reason of a quarrel concerning the election of a Bishop of Carthage, involved the African Church in a

long schism, and contended that their party, though rejected by all transmarine Churches, was exclusively the one holy catholic Church, and that all others being beyond its pale, had no right to administer any of its rites. The holiness of the Church is to be understood of the purity of its doctrine; thus Rufinus; "the Church in which there is one faith and one baptism, in which there is believed one God the Father, one Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and one Holy Ghost, is the holy Church without spot or wrinkle; for many others have gathered Churches, as Marcion, Arius, and other heretics, but their Churches were not without the spot or wrinkle of perfidiousness." "We believe, says Augustin, the holy, that is, catholic, Church; for heretics and schismatics call their congregations churches; but heretics by false opinions concerning God violate the faith, and schismatics by unjust separation depart from brotherly love, though they believe what we believe. Wherefore a heretic does not belong to the catholic Church, because she loves God, nor a schismatic, because she loves her neighbour." The universal Church from its nature could, strictly speaking, be found only in local congregations: but though circumstances prevented their union in one place, they were desirous of showing that they were one in faith and practice, that there was a communion of saints. And this was shown by communicatory letters granted to such members as travelled, which are called by Tertullian the communication of peace, the appellation of brotherhood, the ticket of hospitality. Thus in primitive times the Church was essentially one, and continued so as long as the existence of the Roman empire. In the West the supremacy of the Bishop of the capital survived its dissolution, and his authority was augmented by its subdivision into independent kingdoms. Till the Reformation, the Christians of France, and England, and Germany, though acknowledging different temporal sovereigns, formed one ecclesiastical whole, and their communion was facilitated by the offering up of the same sacrifice in the same common language. This brotherhood exists no more as far as Protestants are concerned, and the Romanist no longer communicates with the Greek or oriental Churches.

Practically, the question affects few, for it is a small proportion of any national Church whom business or pleasure calls into foreign lands. Our insular position makes it to most of us a subject of indifference; and I fear we do not sufficiently cultivate, when opportunity offers, a friendly intercourse with those foreign congregations, which satisfy our definition of a true Church, which looks only to the purity of doctrine and the due celebration of the sacraments, without any reference to its government. The Protestant Churches remarkably agree in their definition of the Church; and our own is little more than a translation of the Article in the Augsburg Confession. With any then who agree with this definition, the members of our Church seem bound by our own Article to associate, unless there be in their liturgies expressions which we cannot, as we think, reconcile with those of our own. Forgiveness of sins is the peculiar and characteristic blessing which Christianity revealed and offers, yet it was not expressly declared in the Creed before the days of Cyprian. The heathens knew nothing of the doctrine: the Mosaic sacrifices did not reach the greater offences; and our Lord, before his ascension, clearly laid down this fundamental article, that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations[f]. The period when this takes place is when we are admitted into his religion; and this, which is understood in the Apostles' Creed, is expressed in the Nicene, I believe one Baptism for the remission of sins, declaring thereby that it is never to be repeated. The doctrine is authorized by Scripture, *Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins*[g]*:* and Ananias says to Saul already penitent, *And now why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord*[h]. Faith and Repentance are always assumed as necessary qualifications in adults, for which reason the diligence of the Church took care that none should be admitted to baptism, till they had by convenient time of trial given proof sufficient of their sincerity, and of their desire to live a new life. Both original sin and actual were then forgiven;

[f] Luke xxiv. [g] Acts ii. 38. [h] Acts xxii. 16.

but, as we shall see in another Article, the clause also includes the forgiveness of sins repented of, into which believers fall after baptism, in contradiction to the rigour of the Montanists, which excited Augustin's astonishment, that any should deny repentance to the lapsed, or pardon to the penitent, when it is written, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works.* The Resurrection of the Body has always been in the Creed, and is a necessary addition to Life Everlasting; for in early times several of the philosophers who derided the first, believed in the second; and even in modern days, Christians dwell so much on the future existence of the soul, that they often lose sight of its companion the body, to which at the judgment day it is to be again united, although they do not formally deny the resurrection. This we know to be the doctrine preached by the Apostles, and that it has been fully stated and vindicated in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Our translation is not accurate, for both in the Greek and Latin, it is the resurrection not of the body but of the flesh; and the latter term is said to have been used to prevent the evasion of those who believed that a new body would hereafter be created to receive the soul, and not the identical one be raised again that had seen corruption. Life everlasting is added in opposition to the doctrine of annihilation, for the Gnostics thought that the wicked should perish in the conflagration at the last day; some of the earlier Creeds accordingly specify the destination of them as well as of the good, and this is also clearly affirmed in that ascribed to Athanasius.

The Nicene Creed is so called, because authorized by the Council assembled at Nice, A.D. 325, by the first Christian Emperor, to maintain the orthodox doctrine of the proper divinity of the Son of God. It has been argued by Petavius and many moderns, that the Antenicene fathers did not believe in the Son's equality with the Father; and it is probable that they did not express themselves with the critical accuracy which subsequent disputes rendered necessary. Bishop Bull, however, has satisfied me of their orthodoxy, and that they teach no other inferiority than that subordination which flows from, and the idea of a son, and of the office he

voluntarily undertook in the economy of redemption, and cannot be separated from it. Such a subordination is expressed in the phrase Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, God of God, or more properly, God *out of* or *from* God, as contrasted with the title given to the Father of Αὐτόθεος, God of himself. Φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, light *out* of light, "bright effluence of bright essence increate," as our own poet beautifully renders it, is the same idea conveyed by a metaphor, and is certainly sanctioned by the ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a ray beaming from his Father's brightness, a ray, be it observed, *immediately* from him, which cannot be affirmed of any other being, for even the most glorious and highest archangel was made through him; and the western Church maintains, that the Holy Spirit itself is an emanation from the Father through the Son. The subordination of his divine nature in this sense is understood by Athanasius and other orthodox fathers to be revealed by himself, when he says, *My Father is greater than I,* though modern divines generally refer it to his humanity. Still it must be granted, than an Arian could assent to these propositions; but then the Creed proceeds to add, that he is of the *same nature* with the Father, and to preclude the possibility of error, it went on to state, that "the Son was not created or variable, that he existed before he was born or made, and that there never was a time when he was not," words which since the extinction of the Arian heresy have been dropped. The original Nicene Creed is supposed to have terminated with the simple assertion of belief in the Holy Ghost, and that all that follows was added, A.D. 381, at the Council of Constantinople, which decided against Macedonius, who denied his divinity. Several of these articles however appear in earlier Creeds; that opinion therefore seems to me most probable, that the Nicene fathers being assembled, not to make a creed, but to authenticate what had always been the catholic faith, passed over the articles that were not then in discussion, and have given us in substance the Creed of Cæsarea. The Holy Ghost is here designated as the Lord and Giver of life, and the English reader is led to suppose that life alone is here ascribed to him. The articles in the original, τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὸ

ζωοποιὸν, however, show that we confess him, like the other persons of the Trinity, to be the Lord, as well as the giver of spiritual life. The Church might deduce his right to the title of Lord from a comparison of Acts i. 16; iv. 24. with Exodus xxiv. 4; and 2 Cor. iii. 17. and 1 Thess. iii. 12. That He spake through the prophets is declared by St. Peter[1].

The Athanasian Creed, as it is called, is a full and accurate statement of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation, of the former of which Athanasius was the persevering, undaunted, and ultimately triumphant champion; but though it faithfully records his *belief*, it is a vulgar error to suppose it to be his composition. Though written in a language he did not probably know, this error generally prevailed among the learned, till it was confuted by Vossius in 1642; yet the compilers of our Articles seem to be aware that it was ascribed to Athanasius without sufficient authority, for the rubric says, commonly so called. Nor is it properly a Creed, for it was never recognised by any Council, or used in baptism; it is rather an Exposition of the faith, and this, or the Catholic Faith, or the Faith of Athanasius, is the title it really bears in manuscripts. It has not been adopted by the Greek Church, and though extant in Greek, the original is certainly Latin. The time of its introduction into the Roman liturgies is unknown, but was probably the tenth century. We know that it was previously in use in this country, Germany, Spain, and the diocese of Milan, and it is likely that it was first used in France. From the close resemblance between many of its clauses, and passages in Augustin's writings, it must have been written by one to whom they were familiar; and Waterland, to whose learned history of this Creed I would refer those who wish for more complete information, has made it probable that it was written about A.D. 430, before Nestorianism was much known in the West, and that the author was Hilary, the distinguished Bishop of Arles. It may surprise the reader to learn, that it was used in France before it was at Rome: but the fact is overlooked in modern times, that though the Papal preeminence was insisted on, uniformity of ceremonies

[1] 1 Peter i. 10.

and services was not then thought, as now, essential to union. Our Church even in its most distant colonies has the same identical liturgy; and one was drawn up for all the branches of the Roman Catholic Church by the order of the Council of Trent; but previous to the Reformation there was more liberty. Thus in our own country there were several in use. That of Salisbury, compiled for that diocese, was the most approved, and was even used in Normandy, while Canterbury alone conformed to the Roman ritual. We have already seen, that the Nicene Creed did not for some centuries supersede the original one in Rome.

The exposition of the Athanasian Creed speaks for itself. I need only observe, that the term *incomprehensible* may mislead the English reader, as it is the rendering of *immersus*, meaning what cannot be limited. The damnatory clauses have caused much uneasiness to the scrupulous: and few will be disposed to believe, that an assent to so many metaphysical definitions can be required as necessary to salvation. It is now, I believe, the received opinion, that we are only expected to profess belief in the Trinity and the Incarnation. It is in fact a statement of the orthodox exposition of these two fundamental Articles. Having affirmed that we are "to worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, not confounding the persons nor dividing the substance," and added explanations, the first part concludes with the warning, "let him who will be saved thus think, ita sentiat, of the Trinity." The second part is thus introduced. "It is furthermore necessary to everlasting salvation, that he also believe rightly the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ," which is treated in the same manner. Still though it is generally held that our salvation does not depend upon the acceptance of the following exposition, I cannot but agree with Bishops Burnet and Tomline, that it is highly desirable that these clauses should be expunged. And this is to be wished not merely out of charity to tender consciences, but because they naturally excite a prejudice against the Exposition itself, and afford a specious pretence to those whose real objection is to the doctrine which is therein so clearly stated. We have a precedent for their omission; for the anathema with which the Council of Nice

strengthened their Creed has been long universally dropped. It was the custom for Councils to anathematise those professing heretical opinions; and it is the invariable termination of each dogma decreed by the Council of Trent. Thus, for example, "whoever shall say that by the sacraments of the new law grace is not conferred by the mere performance of the act, ex opere operato, let him be accursed, anathema sit." The phrase occurs only in one of our own Articles, the eighteenth. "They also, sunt anathematizandi, are accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law." This however seems not quite so strong as the Athanasian clauses; anathematised or cursed means put out of the church, and if a person dies excommunicated, he cannot of course claim any of the privileges promised to its members. Nevertheless, she pronounces not their external damnation, she leaves them to the uncovenanted mercies of their God.

Some divines, observing that the Church had been satisfied for centuries with two Creeds, (for the Athanasian cannot be reckoned such,) have expressed their regret that the Reformers should have encumbered themselves with minute confessions of faith, which instead of putting an end to controversy, provoke it. Bishop Taylor even suggests, that we ought to be content with the Apostles' Creed; but surely a careful examination of it will lead any one on reflection to perceive, that it bears so little on the contested points of modern theology, that it could be signed by persons of opposite opinions, and could produce only an apparent conformity. According to our notions, Confessions of faith include too many particulars: and with our experience we should be disposed to leave as open questions, several which our ancestors thought themselves bound to determine. In every Church there will be a high and low school, and each will have a tendency to different doctrinal views; but considerable latitude will be granted on both sides on questions which have not been recently debated. The Laity indeed, speaking generally, have only to recite the ancient Creeds, for there is no other test of their con-

formity than their joining in the use of the Book of Common Prayer. But from those who have not only to administer the Sacraments but to teach the congregation, it is reasonable to require a more specific test of their orthodoxy. The Creeds also rather state the facts than the doctrines of our religion. The modern Unitarian indeed could not repeat the Nicene: but I doubt if a conscientious one would have any scruple to call the second Person of the Trinity the only-begotten Son of God. His birth, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, are facts which he maintains; and nothing is affirmed of the atoning efficacy of that death, or of the fulfilment of the intercessory office of his priesthood in heaven. The Holy Ghost he will acknowledge in name, though he denies his reality; and nothing is declared respecting the doctrines of grace. The forgiveness of sins is all that is said respecting the scheme of salvation. In the Nicene Creed indeed it is connected with Baptism, but nothing is added respecting Regeneration. The other Sacrament is altogether overlooked, though it presents the most marked difference between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and even separates the latter into two grand divisions. The Creeds, short as they still are, were enlarged from time to time to exclude heretics as they arose; but these heresies have died away. The early Church discussed the nature of the Deity; the subjective divinity of modern times has more wisely examined the nature of the salvation wrought, and the method by which a sinner is to obtain an interest in it. The ancient Creeds have been retained by the Reformers, but they found it necessary to draw up additional statements to explain the Articles on which they differed from Rome, and the Pope found it equally expedient to lengthen the Nicene Creed.

LECTURE IX.

ARTICLE IX.

OF ORIGINAL OR BIRTH-SIN.

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of Adam; whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

Having laid down the doctrines of the Church as far as concerns the *Deity*, having acknowledged the three ancient Creeds, and declared that the Scripture is the only source of religious knowledge, we proceed to the second division of the Articles, which treats of the application of the salvation provided by God *to Man*, who is first considered as an individual; and in the discussion of this we must consider his moral nature, both as he is by birth, and under the covenant of grace, that is, as a Christian. In our first

division, with the exception of the Article on the sufficiency of Scripture, not only the Church of England and other Reformed Churches, but that from which we have seceded, and the orthodox dissenters, that is, all who have seceded from us, with the exception of the Unitarians and the Friends, are unanimous; upon this second division there is considerable difference of opinion. St. Paul informs us[a], that no other foundation of Christian doctrine can be laid than Jesus Christ: and unless this foundation be correctly and deeply laid, the superstructure will not answer its purpose, and will be in perpetual danger of falling. But what necessity, the unbeliever proudly and scoffingly asks, for this foundation? Is it not sufficient for God to declare his will, and for man to obey it? To this we readily reply, that nothing more is or could be required by God than *perfect* obedience, and this (which divines call the covenant of works) *was* the religion revealed to our first parents in paradise. Adam was created with the ability of keeping this law, which ability he lost by his disobedience, both for himself and his posterity; and certainly if any man could have since kept the whole moral law, Christ need not have died for him; but who will dare to challenge the scrutiny of the heart-searching God? The experience of all, even of those who by baptism have been admitted into covenant, and placed under the most favourable circumstances, demonstrates that this is impossible; and if any maintain the contrary, it must be from some misconception of the divine law. As soon as he perceives that it extends to the *thoughts and desires*, not being like the law of man restricted to the cognisance of *actions*, that it requires the dedication of all our faculties, times, and means, to the service of God the Giver, that it makes no allowance for omissions, and demands *constant* obedience to every precept; he must confess, that at least, if he hath committed no positive offence, he has sometimes failed in the performance of duty; and as the law knows nothing of repentance, which derives its efficacy solely from the death of the Saviour, a transgressor can have no hope from an agreement, the condition of which is,

[a] 1 Cor. iii. 11.

do this and live, the penalty, *cursed is every one who continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the Law to do them*[b]. This impossibility is occasioned by human depravity, that is, the corrupt nature that we have all in succession inherited from our progenitor Adam. A belief therefore in his fall and its consequences, which makes the satisfaction and atonement wrought by Christ indispensable, is the first principle of genuine Christianity, and therefore the Articles upon this branch of Theology commence with one on Original or Birth-sin.

This tenet must be acknowledged and heartily embraced, before we can see the necessity of the foundation that is laid; and it is from ignorance or disbelief of it, that this *living stone, chosen of God and precious, has been disallowed by so many builders*, and become even *a stone of stumbling and rock of offence. To them who believe, He is precious;* and in proportion to their knowledge of the divine perfections, and their sense of their own sinfulness, will be their love and gratitude; thus while to the contrite and humble Christian his Saviour appears to be *altogether lovely, the chiefest among ten thousand,* the self-righteous can see *no comeliness in him that they should admire him.* The pride of man *naturally* revolts from this humiliating doctrine, and endeavours when it cannot wholly *deny* it, to *evade* it; and too many who admit it into their creed, show that though they acknowledge it for form's sake, it has no practical influence upon their system. It is therefore the more important that our faith in this fundamental doctrine should be fully established. It follows from this truth, that all systems of Ethics, however plausible and imposing, which assume that man is originally innocent, and of his own accord prefers virtue to vice, are *radically* erroneous. The works too of heathen moralists, however admirable as literary compositions, though they may contain many just remarks, and excellent rules for conduct in particular cases, must never be appealed to as *authorities*, but are themselves to be tried by the only standard of right and wrong, the revealed word of God. If read in the Christian spirit, they have their use in showing

[b] Gal. iii. 10.

the limits of our faculties in religious and moral speculations, and in some instances shaming those who enjoy greater light. But taken as guides, they will only feed our self-righteousness with exaggerated notions of our dignity and excellence. The best systems also devised by human moralists view man only as a creature; but his duty as such is clearly not the same as when to this relation is superadded that of a sinner justified. The wisdom that cometh from above, that is, Christianity, discloses the *remedy* which infinite wisdom and mercy have provided for the *recovery of* sinners, both from the guilt and from the power of sin. This is implied in the very language of religion; a Redeemer intimates a previous captivity; a Sanctifier previous impurity; atonement to divine justice our righteous condemnation; regeneration or a new birth the necessity of a complete change both of state and of character. So obvious is this, that no believer in Christ can well deny this statement. Accordingly all concede some degree of corruption, yet an attempt is often made to reduce it almost to nothing. This opposes the doctrine of the Reformers: and the Church of England in particular maintains in this Article that this corruption is total. "Man is very far gone from original righteousness, so that the flesh lusteth *always* contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation." The context sufficiently denotes the meaning; some however have eagerly caught at the antiquated phrase, "very far gone from original righteousness," as if equivalent to not altogether departed from it. The Latin, quam longissime, shows that this is a misconception. Still such an important doctrine will not depend upon the strict meaning of a single phrase. If indeed the belief in it was firmly rooted in the minds of all the Reformers, it may then be expected to be showing itself continually in all their formularies, and that it doth pervade them is a matter of notoriety. Upon what other view can we explain the following passages in our own Book of Common Prayer? "there is no health in us,—make clean our hearts within us,—O God, from whom *all* holy desires do proceed,—who seest that of ourselves we have *no* power

to help ourselves,—we cannot do *any thing good* without thee." The Homilies are so full of this doctrine, that our only difficulty is selection. The following quotations will suffice. From the second. "On the Misery of all Mankind." "We are sheep that run astray, but we cannot of our own power come again to the sheepfold in ourselves; therefore may we not glory, which of ourselves are nothing but sinful. The Holy Ghost in writing the holy Scriptures is in nothing more diligent than in putting down man's vain glory and pride, which of all vices is most universally grafted in all mankind, even from the first infection of our first father Adam. Of ourselves and by ourselves, we are not able to think a good thought, or work a good deed, so that we can find in ourselves no hope of salvation, but rather whatsoever maketh for our destruction." And from the Homily for Whitsunday. "Man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught, sinful and disobedient to God, without *any* spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion, *only* given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds." Let us now examine how far the charge is borne out by Scripture; and here again the subject recurs so continually, that we have abundance of texts. *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth*[c]. *There is no man that sinneth not*[d]. *The flesh is weak*[e]. *I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members*[f]. *The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be*[g]. Our Saviour's argument with Nicodemus is, that man must be born again, because he is flesh; now a new birth implies not a partial amendment, but an entire renovation; and St. Paul argues[h], that *if one died for all, then were all dead;* and treats the subject methodically in the Epistle to the Romans, the object of which is to prepare mankind for the reception of the good tidings of salvation, by showing that both Jews and Gentiles, that is, all the descendants of Adam, are guilty before God, and that by *the deeds of the law no flesh*

[c] Gen. viii. 21. [d] 1 Kings viii. 46. [e] Matt. xxvi. 41. [f] Rom. vii. 23. [g] Rom. viii. 7. [h] 1 Cor. v. 14.

shall be justified in his sight. Now if one sinless man had ever existed, he would have been justified by his own obedience; as therefore no flesh, that is, no child of Adam, shall be justified by the works of the Law, it follows that every one is a sinner. St. Paul thus announces it; *What then are we*—that is, Jews, who had an advantage in their knowledge of God's revealed will, and at least outward assistances—*better than they? No, in no wise, for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles that they are all under sin; as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one.* He prefers this and other quotations from the Old Testament to words of his own, because they would have more weight with those to whom he was writing; and they also prove that he is not declaiming against the particular depravity of his own age, for his design is not simply to bring them to repentance, but to convince them that all are sinners, and that not by habit or imitation, but by nature; for otherwise his reasoning could not stand, that salvation is from the free unmerited mercy of God.

Such is the language of Revelation, and what it declares on this head is abundantly proved by experience. The *universality* of sin is shown by the history and present state of every nation, which presents a general picture of war, tyranny, and rebellion. Laws are made to prevent or punish crimes; they exist in every country, and are changed continually, as they are found to fail of their effect, by the substitution of others that promise greater success. To this head are to be referred all the means of safety devised for our persons and property; the bolts, bars, and locks by which we defend our houses, the notes, bonds, and deeds, by which we endeavour to secure our contracts, prevent fraud, and compel the dishonest to fulfil their engagements; also prisons and legal punishments; for in a world of virtuous beings, none of these would be wanted, and we should have no prisons or legal punishments. The religion of heathen nations confirms the same doctrine, for it is every where *expiatory*, that is, its object has been to appease an offended Deity; it therefore consists of penances, ablutions, and sacrifices. The two first speak for themselves; attempts

have been made to explain away the latter; but though the offerings of fruits, as the result of the labour of the husbandman, may be resolved into a thanksgiving, the death of unoffending animals, especially of human victims, shows that the worshippers conceived it necessary to appease the offended Deity, and that he was an object of his displeasure. The writings of moralists, poets, and historians, attest the same fact of human corruption; none of them have ever referred us to any character, in any age, that they have considered to be free from sin; and if they have ever attempted to delineate such an one from imagination, it has always been pronounced unnatural;

"A faultless monster, whom the world ne'er saw."

The fact is so undeniable, that it has forced itself upon the notice of the thoughtful in every age. Thus Cicero[i] observes, that if nature had so framed us as to give us a full and perfect view of her, and ability to follow her as a guide, then mankind would have needed no other teacher; but that the true light of nature is now no where to be found. No sooner are we born than we fall into all depravity, and extreme perversity of opinion, so that we seem to suck in error almost with our own nurse's milk. And St. Augustin quotes him as complaining that nature had brought man into the world more like a stepmother than a parent, too weak for labour and too prone to desire, with some sparks indeed of the divine fire in his mind, but those smothered and obscured. His remark is, that Cicero very clearly saw the thing, but was ignorant of the cause; he knew not the reason why so heavy a yoke was laid upon the sons of Adam, and being unacquainted with the sacred records, was a stranger to the doctrine of inherited sin. The cause they could not know, but they saw and felt the effect; and the Manichean fancy of an evil principle, and the philosophical notion that this depravation proceeded from a pre-existent state, and that our propensity to sin in this world was an evil habit contracted by the soul in another, by a voluntary deviation from God, for which

[i] Tuscul. Disp. iii.

reason it was sent into the body, were only unsuccessful endeavours to explain it; while the fable of the golden age and of the reign of Saturn, indicated an original state of perfection which had ceased. The best of Christians have always been the most ready to acknowledge this humiliating truth, because they are best acquainted with the extent and spirituality of the divine law; but the conscience of every man convicts him, to say the least, of some sin committed, or some duty neglected, and when he endeavours to keep the Commandments, though his judgment approves of them as excellent, he finds within himself a spirit reluctant to perform them. Even the heathen poet Ovid makes Medea say, "I see and approve what is better, I follow what is worse." And this struggle was delineated long before him by Xenophon[k], in his tale of Araspes, who, when overcome by his passion for Panthea, his captive, against his sense of duty, exclaims, that the sophist love has taught him that he has two souls, for if he had but one, it would not at the same time be both good and bad. The fear of death, and the aversion to any intercourse with the Creator, found in all, except in as far as they are renewed in the spirit of their minds, spring from a sense of sin; for the good would have nothing to fear from a just Judge, and would delight in communion with a holy God. The rejection of the word of God, which is never received in the love of it, except where nature has been subdued by grace, is a decisive proof of this depravity. This is strikingly manifested by the *manner* in which it has been rejected, for its opponents have always treated it with contempt or hatred; and though they have declaimed in praise of virtue, they have generally been the slaves of sin, and in no instance to be compared as moral men to the real followers of Christ. The practical unbelief of nominal Christians is *substantially* of the same character, for they deny the real import of the book they profess to receive; its doctrines they have in forms very different, but in design and spirit wholly the same, lowered continually down, so as to suit, or at least so as not to disgust, the taste of a sinful heart. The extent also and

[k] Cyropædia, vi.

purity of its moral precepts they have contracted and debased, so as to license many evil practices that are gratifying to the natural mind. The sum of this argument is, that God has not only given to man a perfect law for the government of his conduct, reasonable and just in itself, but has annexed a reward to its performance, and punishment to the breach and neglect of it; if therefore man was virtuously disposed, he would render an immediate cheerful and universal obedience to it as soon as proposed. Now even supposing such a being to apostatize, and *afterwards* to be informed of a method by which it might return to obedience, and the favour of God, still if he did not prefer sin, he would accept it with gratitude; now this we have already stated, that no man is inclined to do, unless by the preventing grace of God.

The unwillingness of Christians to embrace this tenet in all its fulness, arises, I conceive, from misconception. They perceive neither in themselves, nor in their acquaintance, that entire unmixed wickedness, which they suppose to be necessarily comprehended in it; but they forget, and we are all apt to forget, that in making this broad statement, we are not talking of *Christian* but of *human* nature. The grace conferred in baptism, even allowing it to be as weak as those maintain who lower it, as much as is consistent with distinguishing it as a sacrament from a rite, must, unless entirely lost, make an *essential* difference between the weakest Christian and a heathen. Inasmuch as any partake of the spirit of Christ; and the gradations are more than we can enumerate; they have subdued sin, and though it still *dwells* in them, opposing itself to their good resolutions, it no longer, as in the unregenerate, *reigns*. They should also consider, that some vicious habits are contrary to others, and that the sinful principle will not break faith into all kinds of overt acts in the same individual; each has his constitutional bias or besetting sin; one is more tempted by the lusts of the flesh, another by those of the spirit; but St. James shows, that he who is guilty in one point is guilty in all, for all sins being forbidden by the same legislator, the same authority is defied, whichever

we break; and if a sense of duty cannot keep us, for instance, from stealing, from the strength of our inclination, we have no reason to conclude it would from adultery, or murder, if our tendencies towards those crimes were as strong. Love is the fulfilling of the law; selfishness therefore, or the preferring our own supposed interest or gratification to the welfare of our neighbour, or the command of God, is the contrary. The virtues of heathens are pleaded as an objection; but, strictly speaking, we cannot allow their title to this appellation, since they do not spring from the perfect motive, the desire of obeying their Creator. Augustin calls them shining vices, splendida vitia; and though men are accustomed with classical enthusiasm to admire, perhaps to magnify them, we shall, on calmly weighing them in the balance of the Sanctuary, find the best of them defective, and some that have been highly extolled more deserving of blame than praise. Nor is he more rigid than our own Church, which affirms in a following Article, XIII, "inasmuch as such actions spring not out of faith in Jesus Christ, they are not pleasant to God, yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded, we doubt not that they have the *nature* of sin." We must also bear in mind, that much of the depravity of man is unknown to us. God hides from all but his own eyes that worst of sights, "a naked human heart;" shame, outward circumstances, and the fear of consequences, will often restrain the disposition from declaring itself in actions. If all of these impediments were withdrawn, how much worse would men appear to be than they now do? and such we must recollect they do appear to the heart-searching God. In all therefore of this description, who keep up a fair show of outward conduct, there must be an inward latent depravity, much greater than is suspected by others, or even by themselves.

After all, I allow that the doctrine may be overstated. That all men are by nature as bad as possible, cannot be maintained, because we observe gradations of evil in the wicked; and the same wicked person, unless he amend, will not be stationary, but will grow worse and worse; so that in

an earlier stage of his course he must have been comparatively innocent. The natural man has also preserved some feelings of benevolence and justice, though not sufficient to preserve the name of goodness, because the exercise of them has not its source in the love of God, is not directed to his glory, nor regulated by a reference to his will. It is spirituality of mind that was lost. According to Augustin, the supernatural talents were totally lost, but the natural ones only corrupted; reason may be debilitated and vitiated, but it is not destroyed; and the intellectual faculties of man, however impaired, still proclaim, that the hand that made him is divine. Majestic though in ruins, the exertions of human genius, as exhibited in poets, artists, philosophers, and statesmen, are still wonderful. It is when it goes beyond the limits of the present life, that the understanding best shows its imbecility. So the will of man, being inseparable from his nature, was not annihilated by the fall; it has only received such a bias from that event, that it is now inclined to evil; it is under no necessity from any external cause to do wrong, but it does wrong because it suits its inclination, and will not do right, till it is freed from the slavery of sin by divine grace. With respect to the theoretical knowledge of duty, the Apostle declares to the Romans, that when *the Gentiles who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, they are a law unto themselves,* which shows a natural consciousness of right and wrong; we cannot therefore say, that they are altogether ignorant of their duty, and indeed if they were, they must be absolved from guilt. St. Paul had said just before, *as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law.* Because it would appear unreasonable, that the Gentiles should suffer for their transgression of a law that had not been made known unto them, he subjoins, that their conscience supplied the place of positive prohibitions, and deprived them of the plea of ignorance; for it is not the want of knowledge, (though that be imperfect,) but the want of inclination to practise what they knew to be right, that will condemn them.

It is so natural to wish to underrate the degree of human depravity, that all observations that have this tendency ought to be received with suspicion, as it is well known how much, even where there is no intention to mislead, the understanding is biassed by the will. All that I mean to contend for, when I say that the image of God in which Adam was created has been destroyed, is, that man is now so depraved, that he cannot of himself do any thing pleasing to God, and that he does not even wish to be liberated from this bondage of sin. And this is fully proved by a survey of the *business* and the *amusements* of mankind, even in Christian countries; the difficulty there is found of suppressing vice, and promoting virtue by education, exhortations, or rewards and punishments; and by the confessions of those who in their renewed state of heart, have looked back upon their original condition. The inspired writers acknowledge, that even the Christian who has been freed by grace from the dominion of sin, much more than the mere natural man, is not sufficient of himself to think any thing as of himself. David, conscious of this imbecility, prays that understanding may be given him, to enable him rightly to learn the commandments of the Lord; for his ardent and repeated desire to obtain a new understanding, implies the insufficiency of his own. And what he requests for himself, St. Paul frequently supplicates for the Church at large. *We do not cease to pray for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of his will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that ye may walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing.* This picture of man's depravity will be heightened, if to his vices and defects we add the imperfection of his best qualities, which I give in the energetic language of Hooker, in his Sermon on Justification. "If we could say we are not guilty of any thing at all in our consciences, (we know ourselves far from this innocence,) should we therefore plead not guilty before the presence of our Judge, that sees further into our hearts than we ourselves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our brethren, a bloody thought does prove us murderers before him; if we had never opened our mouth to utter any scan-

dalous, offensive, or hurtful word, the cry of our secret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the sins, which daily and hourly, either in deed, word, or thought, we do commit, yet in the good things we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God in that which is done respecteth the mind and intention of the doer; cut off therefore all those things wherein we have regarded our own glory, those things which men do to please men, and to satisfy their own liking, those things we do for any bye respect, and a small score will serve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holiest and best things we do be considered. We are never better affected unto God than when we pray, yet when we pray, how are our affections many times distracted? The best things we do have something in them to be *pardoned*, how then can we *do* any thing *meritorious* or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatever appertaineth to a blessed life, to as many as *sincerely* keep his law, though they are not able *exactly* to keep it; wherefore we acknowledge *a dutiful necessity* of doing well, but the *meritorious dignity* of doing well we utterly renounce." It must also be remembered, that Hooker is here speaking of believers, who as baptized are renewed at least in part. This depravity shows itself most strikingly in aversion to the *real* character of the Deity, and by *real* I mean his character as delineated in Scripture; that is, as including the attributes of justice and holiness; for the natural man and the worst of sinners may form to themselves such a notion of God as they can delight in, that is, a Being all love and mercy, too kind to punish any sins which are not greatly injurious to mankind, and those only for a season. This however is little better than a refined species of idolatry, and it seems to be with reference to such persons, who substitute for the true God an idol of their own imagination, that the Deity is thus introduced in the fiftieth Psalm. *These things* (that is, theft, adultery, and other sins enumerated) *hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest wickedly that I am even such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that*

thou hast done. The truth of this statement will appear from the opposition made to the character of God as revealed in his own word, which avowed infidels argue against, or ridicule, and which too many others labour to explain away. From the moment Adam ate the forbidden fruit, God was no longer his delight; he was alarmed at his presence, and would fain have hid himself from him. This feeling his posterity inherits: and God being reconciled to man by the atonement effected by his Son, now through his Holy Spirit reconciles man to himself. According to this view, which is that of our own Church, which we have confirmed by the Bible, and supported by facts, man naturally *utterly* destitute of love to God considered as he is, not as he would wish him to be, seeks his own gratification only, and chooses *voluntarily* as his portion, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life. Hence, when thwarted in his pursuits, proceed envy, hatred, malice, and, according to the different habits and propensities of men, unrighteousness, licentiousness, or ungodliness. Eternal punishment is annexed to every transgression of the divine law, which prohibits *all* sin; and when this is made known to the sinner, unless it convince and convert him, his hatred to God *will* then manifest itself.

The next enquiry is, whence doth this tendency to evil proceed? and the Article explicitly answers, "it is the fault of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam," and not as the Pelagians vainly talk in the following, that is the imitation, of Adam. The Pelagians are so called from one Morgan a Welshman, a monk, who was in Rome in A.D. 405, where he lived in friendship with the best and most eminent Christians, and who is mentioned by his illustrious opponent Augustin, as a man of extraordinary capacity and accomplishments, and one whom he should much admire and love, were it not for his heterodox opinions. The Greek term Πελάγιος, maritime, by which he is known, is a translation of Morgan, and was given to him, or assumed by him, because he came from beyond sea. Rome having been sacked in A.D. 410, we find him in Africa, and afterwards in Palestine. He

had two followers, Celestius and Julian, as well known as himself. The Christian world was so much agitated by the discussion of his doctrine, that no less than twenty-four Councils were held upon the subject, between 412 and 430. St. Jerome wrote against him; but his most distinguished opponent was St. Augustin, who completely confuted him, and the doctrine of original sin has ever since been held in all the divisions of the Western Church. The term he first used, but the doctrine, though like others before it had been called into question, it had not been so fully stated, or so clearly proved, being an essential one, may be found in the earliest fathers, who call it the old guilt, the ancient wound, the common curse. The following quotations may suffice. "Christ was born and crucified for mankind, who through Adam had fallen under death and the deception of the serpent, besides the particular sins of which each person is guilty[l]." Origen, "the curse of Adam is common to all men[m]." And from the words of David, *I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me.* And from the practice of Infant Baptsim, which, as Augustin argues against Pelagius, is decisive of the opinion of the Church, for if there were nothing in children which required remission, the grace of Baptism would seem superfluous.

The universality of the corruption proves it to be common to the whole race now; and as far as history goes back, we find it to have been the same. The antediluvian world we know to have been drowned, with the exception of a single family, because *the thoughts of their hearts were only evil continually;* and the first descendant of Adam murdered his brother. Imitation will not explain the crime of Cain, for there is reason to believe that his parents were penitent: and if mankind were by nature virtuously inclined, or even in a neutral state, good examples would be more followed, or at least as much as bad ones. The passages from Scripture already cited are in opposition to the Pelagian view, which followed out into its legitimate consequences would bring us to Socinianism, which maintains

[l] Justin Martyr, Dialogue. [m] Celsus iv.

that we derive no other advantage from Christ's righteousness than the proposal to our imitation of a perfect example. But it appears certain that in the same manner as other animals beget an offspring resembling themselves, we all, since Adam sinned before he had any children, derive from our progenitor a nature so frail and inclined to sin, that as soon as temptations arise, it will show itself forth in *actual* transgressions. Thus Augustin, though he calls it the sin of another, the more clearly to intimate its transmission to us by propagation, yet at the same time asserts that it belongs to each individual. Our Saviour and his Apostles declare that we are born with sinful dispositions; and it could not be otherwise, unless God had interposed to restore Adam to his original righteousness, which we know he did not; for it is expressly said, that Adam was created in the *divine* image, which he lost, and afterwards that he begat Seth in his *own* image. Both circumcision, the initiatory rite before the coming of Christ, and Baptism which since succeeded it, signify that flesh and blood, that is the nature we derive from Adam, cannot inherit the kingdom of Heaven. But original sin does not only consist in the corruption of our nature, but is generally considered as also a state of condemnation, in which we are born, or, as it is said, the sin of Adam is imputed to us as guilt. This is objected to by many as a harsh saying; nor can they perceive how it can be consistent with the goodness or even the justice of God, to render men guilty of a sin in which they had no personal concern. We can readily conceive, they say, how God in the riches of his grace may transfer merit and blessing from one person to another; this is an economy of mercy wherein all is free, and such a method is taken herein as best demonstrates the goodness of God; but in the imputation of sin and guilt, which are matters of strict justice, the case is widely different; and therefore we find God often appealing to mankind concerning the righteousness of his ways, denying expressly that children are to suffer for the transgressions of their parents[n], but that *the soul that sinneth it shall die,* and

[n] Ezek. xviii. 20.

affirming positively, *that every one shall bear his own burden*[o], and *give an account of his own works*[p]. Yet the Apostle's comparison between the first Adam and the second, as he calls Christ, seems to show, that as through faith the merits of the latter are imputed to us for justification, so by the offence of one judgment came upon all to condemnation; and by one man's disobedience many would be made, or treated, as sinners[q]. And the whole design of the discourse seems to be defeated, if this imputation be denied, nor can Adam upon this view be called the figure of the Messiah. God, according to our doctrine, is represented as making Adam stand forth as the representative and surety of his posterity, to make a covenant for them, as well as himself; and the condition of his obedience was eternal life, the penalty eternal death; and of this, temporal death is the sign, and the latter at least can hardly be denied, for death hath certainly passed upon all men, and even those who have committed no actual sins, that is, infants, die. That the Scriptures do sometimes represent men as to be *considered*, nay, even to be *rewarded* or *punished*, not only individually, but collectively, may easily be proved; *considered*, as when Levi[r] paid tithes in Abraham to Melchizedec; *rewarded*, as when Abraham was made the father of the faithful, and when believers are redeemed in Christ; *punished*, as when God himself declares, that he himself will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation. The chief objection seems to be the consequence that is hence supposed to follow of the condemnation of infants not baptized, or at the utmost, not the offspring of at least one believing parent, to eternal punishment. This is a doctrine certainly revolting to the feelings; as stated by Augustin, it is less offensive, for he assigns to them a particular abode; which is no more than the loss of Heaven without any positive suffering; but the Calvinists in general go further, and as the Westminster Confession affirms, that elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated, and saved by Christ, this very declaration seems to imply, that there are other infants

[o] Gal. vi. 5. [p] Rom. v. 15. [q] Rom. v. 19. [r] Heb. vii. 4.

condemned to eternal perdition. But these consequences do not seem to me to be *necessary* ones. I will grant, that they are, if we look *exclusively* to the imputation of original sin; but the Apostle, from whom the doctrine is derived, tells us at the same time, that the remedy is commensurate with the injury. *As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive*[s]. *As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.* The doctrine therefore of universal redemption, which is declared in the second, and still more explicitly in the thirty-first, Article, entirely removes this objection. If the offering of the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world, be a perfect redemption and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual, and the whole scheme of man's salvation had been decreed from all eternity in the divine counsel, and was actually promised, before any child of Adam was born, even before sentence was pronounced, the benefit of redemption immediately commenced. Upon this hypothesis then every infant that comes into the world, brings along with it at the same time the guilt of Adam's sin, and the benefit of Christ's meritorious death; nor can the want of baptism be any obstruction to the remedy, since the remedy was exhibited long before the institution of this Sacrament. With this explanation, I hope that no objection will be felt to the doctrine of the imputation of original sin, for I think it is conveyed as well as that of a depravity of nature by our Article, which goes on to say, in scriptural language, that it deserves God's wrath and damnation, which in the case of infants, and they are evidently here included, must mean eternal; I observe by the way, that to say it *deserves*, is very different from saying it will *receive*, and this is expressly stated in the Augustan Confession[t]: from which it appears, that the Lutherans as well as we maintain,

[s] 1 Cor. xv. 22.

[t] Quo nascentes Adæ propter lapsum rei sunt iræ Dei et mortis *æternæ*. Est vitium origines vere peccatum damnans et afferens nunc quoque *æternam* mortem his qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

that this guilt is washed away in baptism, in which opinion also we accord with Rome; and it is indeed implied in the term Regeneration, so that those who do not consider that act as always taking place in baptism, still take care to maintain this position. This the Dort Canons, which profess Calvinism more fully than any other Confession, say is not imputed for condemnation to the children of God.

We have now traced up moral evil to the first man, but it would be an aweful impiety to suppose that the pure and perfect Creator could be the author of it. *This only have I found*, saith the Preacher, *that God made man upright, but they have found out many inventions.* We know that God, on completing all his works including man, declared them to be very good, and that Adam was created in his image; by which we are not merely to understand that he was a rational being, but, as it is explained by St. Paul[t], like his maker in holiness and righteousness. His reason, as our Homily for the Nativity expresses it, "was incorrupt, his understanding pure and good, his will was obedient and godly; he was made like unto God in righteousness, in holiness, in wisdom, and truth. But though innocent, he was, as we now all are, a free *agent*, and placed in a state of probation; life and death were set before him, and he chose the latter. If it be asked, by whose fault? we answer in the words of our great Poet[u],

> Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of God
> All he could have; He made him just and right,
> *Sufficient* to have stood, though free to fall.

Why he was permitted to fall, I presume not to enquire; it is enough for us to know, that as he was the author of his own sin and misery, he was inexcusable; and that though he might have been justly left in the condition which he had chosen, God, who is rich in mercy, and can bring good out of evil, has taken occasion from his fall to exhibit to angels and men his own glorious attributes,

[t] Eph. iv. 24. [u] Book iii.

which could not otherwise have been made so fully known, his holiness, his justice, and his mercy. An act which brought sin and death into the world, and to remove the effects of which it was necessary that the coequal Son of God should become incarnate, and endure an ignominious and painful death, could be no slight offence; but as infidels represent it as by no means proportionate to God's indignation, and that he is described as unreasonable and severe, and as even some believers in a degree feel the objection, it may be proper briefly to consider the nature of the test of his obedience. We premise, that the objection carries with it its own refutation; for in the proportion in which they would represent the eating of the forbidden fruit as a trifle, in the same proportion they lower the temptation, and enhance the guilt of the offender. God's eye fixes upon the state of the mind, and this is discovered as much, or rather more, in matters comparatively small, and in an arbitrary appointment more than in a moral precept, which would at once recommend itself to the judgment. Many of the latter he as lord of all that he beheld, and with no other fellow creature, except her who had been given to him as a friend and assistant, had not the power or temptation to break; nor if he could, would they have been so correct a trial of the state of his heart towards his Maker. If he put the question, How can this be? ought not the word of God to have satisfied him? It is fit then a creature should obey his Creator, and it is his interest as well as his duty, nor could he as a rational and moral being be otherwise virtuous and happy. Now obedience supposes a previous commandment, and none could be easier, for Adam possessed whatever he could need or require, and was not like many of his descendants tempted by any sense of want. His acceptance we must also remember was suspended upon a *single* point, of which he was previously fully warned, so that he completely knew his duty, and might summon all his strength and watchfulness to his support in this only assailable quarter. His experience taught him, that God could have no other design in this trial than his good; he had the strongest motives to

obedience, arising from gratitude, a knowledge of his interest, the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, and above all, being as yet innocent, he had no sinful propensity. The trial therefore was not a hard one. But why was the offence so strictly punished? We reply, what hath been said tends to show its magnitude, which was indeed of the deepest die; it was not the mere gratification of appetite, or curiosity, inexcusable as that would have been, but an act of decided rebellion, a practical declaration, that God was a severe master who forbad his creature what would have improved his condition; it was therefore distrust and want of faith in the highest degree, and that under circumstances which were most favourable to its exhibition; and if it be asked why a fruit was fixed upon, we answer, that whatever was the mode or instrument of rebellion, the sin was substantially the same; for the same authority was despised, the same obligation broken, and the same guilt incurred.

It is essential not only to sound theological knowledge, but to genuine confidence in and reliance upon God, as a just and merciful Governor of the world, (as a means to which sound knowledge is requisite,) that we should not only *acknowledge*, but *feel* that the Lord is righteous in *all* his ways, and holy in *all* his works; we must therefore endeavour to convince ourselves, that God is perfect in all his moral attributes, and consequently that his condemnation of our progenitors was just. Thus only can we be prepared to appreciate the inestimable gift of redemption, and to receive it with humble gratitude; for unless we acquiesce in the justice of the sentence, we shall look upon the remedy provided, rather as a debt due to human nature, to compensate for what it lost in Adam, than as an act of free unmerited mercy. But when brought to this acknowledgment, (which is difficult to the best of us from the remainder of this corruption which still worketh in us,) we shall find Christianity to deserve the title of Gospel, or good tidings, and shall comprehend why the Saviour demands from us the highest degree of love, and why the Epistles abound with exhortations to gratitude; St. Paul's

prayer for the Ephesians will then be made our own, that *the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, they might be rooted and grounded in love, and be able to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge;* we shall then, in the language of the Homily on the Nativity, "praise him with our tongues, believe on him with our hearts, and glorify him with our good works."

There are some who are misled by a false analogy to conclude, that it would not have been unbecoming, and might have been honourable to the Deity, to have pardoned the offence, because forgiveness is a virtue in man; but these persons do not consider, that what is fit from one *imperfect* being to another, cannot be so between a *perfect* Creator and his guilty creature; for that which it was right to threaten, it must be right to execute. The true cause of the punishment of sin is not the vindictive feeling of an injured or offended Being, but the justice of God, which is an essential property of his nature; and this is the same with his holiness, so that he does not punish arbitrarily; but these attributes require it, as it is indispensable that God should in all things be just and holy, in other words, that he should continue to be God. In proclaiming his character to Moses, he declares that he will by no means clear the guilty; the punishment therefore of every transgressor, if not in his own person, yet by his surety, does not depend upon a mere optional arrangement, nor is it solely resolvable into God's veracity in fulfilling his threatening, but is antecedently necessary, unless we would have the divine nature changed, that sinners might enjoy impunity. We may add, that if the penalty depended only upon the revealed will of God, and his faithfulness to his engagements, it would be expected only by those nations to whom his will was revealed; yet those that have not the written law to instruct them, find when they sin, as the Apostle says, that conscience accuses them, and accordingly they have invented various methods of appeasing the Deity whose displeasure they fear, which proves that even the light of nature shows that sin is worthy of punishment. Scripture affirms[x], that it is

[x] 2 Thess. i. 6.

a *righteous* thing with God to render tribulation to sinners, and he is said[y] to have declared his righteousness by the sufferings of Christ. This exhibited his justice no less than his mercy, but if it were just to punish sin, it must have been unjust to pardon it. Men are too apt to fancy, that though God's promises will be fulfilled, his threatenings may not be executed; but it was through this very delusion that sin entered into the world, "Has God said that you shall die if you eat?" A suggestion arises, that if this be the meaning, still it will not be acted on, and this delusion still widely prevails; but what ground is there for this presumed distinction between threats and promises? What difference between these two clauses in their authority, *He that believeth shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be damned?*

Many who allow the reasonableness of punishment, stumble at the notion of its *eternity*, since the sins to be punished are finite, transient, temporary. Yet even among ourselves we consider the guilt of crimes to be aggravated in proportion to the excellence of the person against whom they are committed, and our obligations to respect and love them; now no creature, knowing fully the Deity against whom all sin is committed, can fully understand its enormity; and God alone understands what it is for his creature, who is dependent upon him for life and all things, to withdraw himself as it were from his government, and to oppose his authority. He alone knows what sin deserves, and what ought to be the degree and duration of punishment. Some Christians, even contradicting the words of Scripture, deny the eternity of future punishments; but this is setting up their own notions of fitness against God's express declaration, and we may reprove them in the words of Balaam, *God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent. Hath he said, and shall he not do it; or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good*[z]*?* If the wicked are to be punished for ever, it is the part of mercy to reveal the fact, in order to alarm men, and bring them to repentance; but to hold out threats which are not to be

[y] Rom. i. 18. [z] Numbers xxiii. 19.

executed is derogatory from God's moral character, and would leave us incapable of trusting him for the promised rewards of Heaven. Such a supposition, though it may have the semblance of piety, must arise from inadequate views of holiness and sin, and from a notion that punishment is of a purifying quality; but so far is this from being true, that it would increase the wickedness of the sufferer, and especially his hatred of the Being by whom it is inflicted. And it is disproved in the case of the evil spirits, who in our Saviour's time had been enduring punishment for thousands of years, and were no less hostile then to God than when they fell; and they we know are reserved to everlasting torments. If men, therefore, in a future state continue to sin, they will continue to suffer punishment; *restraining* grace will be withdrawn from them, the Holy Spirit will no longer strive with them, and therefore they will grow worse continually, so that as they are immortal beings, they will ever remain in the state in which death has found them.

We have seen that God is not the author of evil, and that the man and woman whom he created were free from any sinful inclination. How then came they to disobey? By the deception of an evil spirit, who had himself previously fallen through the suggestion of his own mind. If the inquiry be pushed a step further, and it be asked why or how evil should originate in the creation of a Being of perfect power and purity, we must confess that our limited faculties are unequal to the discovery. It is one of the deep things of Him whose *ways are past finding out.* Metaphysicians have exhibited much subtilty in their disquisitions, yet have "found no end in wandering mazes lost;" it is the part therefore of real wisdom and genuine piety to refrain from such high and dangerous speculations, and to rest satisfied with knowing, that even moral evil itself shall be ultimately overruled so as to raise those who really turn to God to a happier and more glorious state through the second Adam, than they would ever have enjoyed, if the first Adam had not fallen. *Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? Higher than heaven, what canst* thou *do? deeper*

than hell what canst thou *know? longer than the earth is his measure, and broader than the sea*[a], is Zophar's just rebuke to Job. And certainly, if we were fully sensible of the distance between God and ourselves, we should see the reasonableness of the Apostle's interrogation, *Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God*[b]*?* If we find fault with God's government of the world, we virtually declare ourselves fit to be His counsellors; whereas it becomes us to cry out, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!* The consideration of the infinite distance between His understanding and ours should make us cheerfully acquiesce in all He does, however mysterious; nor have we a right to expect that He should give us *an account of his matters.* We find, therefore, that when Job was perplexed with the divine dispensations, God answered him not by a vindication of his providence, but by showing him how infinitely he was his superior. It became Job to submit to his Creator in those things which he did not understand, and to believe that his reasons, though unknown, were good, in other words, to have faith; and the reply, which so awefully proclaims the divine power, wisdom, and sovereignty, had a tendency to bring him to this. Job accordingly ceases to justify himself, or to repine, but exclaims as a penitent, *Behold, I am vile, what shall I answer thee! I will lay my hand upon my mouth. Once I have spoken, but I will not answer; yea twice, but I will proceed no further!* It is not astonishing that a God of infinite glory should shine with a brightness too dazzling for mortal eyes, when even Angels are represented as veiling their faces in this overpowering light.

The practical importance of the doctrine of original sin should be attentively marked, for there is a *cold and speculative assent* to it, that has no influence upon the conduct. If a man assumes that he was originally virtuous, and only corrupted by example, he will be apt to think himself as good as a frail imperfect creature can expect to be, and he will consider justification and acceptance as his due; or if

[a] Job xi. 7—9. [b] Rom. ix. 20.

he should allow that Christ has in *some* sense died for him, he will conceive that his merits make up for his own deficiencies, and will regard him rather as an assistant in the work, than *as the author and finisher of his faith*, and consequently of his salvation, so that his reliance will be mainly upon himself. To him the gospel, instead of being what its name imports, is but a valuable system of morals, purer indeed than any other, and enforced by stronger sanctions; whereas he who commences his moral course, with a full conviction of his exposure to God's wrath, of the corruption of his nature, and his danger of final condemnation, will proceed in a different path. As a sinner he will feel himself to be guilty and condemned, yet as an object of mercy he sees glorious hopes dawning upon him from heaven. Christ to him will be *infinitely* precious, and to his atonement he will fly for refuge, because he can make no atonement for himself. The renewing power of the Holy Spirit will appear to him to be *necessary*, because without his divine energy exerted upon his heart, he must continue a sinner for ever. With these views his self-examination, his prayers and praises, resolutions and efforts, will take their peculiar character from this primary and leading truth, that he is by nature depraved. His life therefore will be the life of a *returning penitent*, owing infinite obligations to the *free unmerited* grace of God; and he will feel more to animate his love and gratitude, and to stimulate him to show it forth by obedience, than an Angel could feel, with the same powers, because he is a *forgiven and restored sinner*, forgiven an immense debt, restored to endless life, and enabled, by the preventing and cooperating grace of God, to love and to serve him, though imperfectly, yet sincerely, notwithstanding the fall of his progenitors, and his own hereditary corruption. He is not therefore preserved from sin by the servile motives of the rewards and punishments held forth, nor yet by the nobler, yet it is to be feared too feeble, sense of duty, which has been rarely able to hold out against strong temptation; but by that overpowering gratitude which the cross of Christ alone can excite. This will not merely keep him innocent, but

sustain him in the heaviest trials, and constrain him to a life of active service, for he judges with the Apostle, that *if one died for all, then were all dead; and that he died for all, that they who live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them: therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature*[c]; a principle which is recognised by our Lord, *if you love me, keep my commandments.*

We have seen, that the judgment brought upon the human race by the offence of its first federal head, has been removed through the meritorious obedience of the second. We know also, that the new covenant of grace made with him, provides not only pardon, but divine cooperation; and that though by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, on our admission into it by baptism, we are said to be born again, and become the children of God. That Baptism is regarded by our own Church, which therein repeats the universal opinion of Christian antiquity, as the sign and instrument of Regeneration, is evident from the baptismal service, and from this very article, for the original Latin has *renatis* and credentibus nulla propter Christum est condemnatio, as answering to the English, there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized; and the Church of Rome takes regeneration in so strict a sense, as to maintain that original sin is entirely removed in Baptism, contradicting Augustin, to whose authority it so often appeals. He writes, "Is all iniquity blotted out in baptism, doth no infirmity remain? if no infirmity remained, we might live without sin; but who can say this, unless he be proud? unless unworthy of the mercy of the Redeemer? unless he will deceive himself, and be one in whom is no truth?" And in another place; "let it not be thought that we should say, that concupiscence is sanctified, with which the Regenerate themselves are forced to contend in an intestine war as with an enemy; and in baptism sin is dismissed, not that it does not exist, but that it is not imputed." And that Scripture maintains this doctrine, appears from the very passage that is introduced into the Article from the Epistle to the Romans[d]. "And

[c] 2 Cor. v. 14. [d] Rom. viii.

this infection of nature doth remain even in them that are regenerate, whereby the φρόνημα σαρκὸς is not subject to the law of God." The Apostle proceeds, *neither indeed can be.* The Article gives us four translations in both languages of φρόνημα: sapientia, wisdom; sensum, sensuality; affectum, affection; and studium, desire. The first is that of the Vulgate, but it is extraordinary that the version of our own translators, *carnally minded,* is not given, especially as it appears to be the best; for φρόνειν refers rather to the *inclination* than the *judgment.* Our Lord says to Peter, *thou savourest not;* meaning rather, thou dost not *relish,* than thou dost not *comprehend, the things that be of God;* and in the word mind, both feeling and understanding seem to be united. It is well known that it is disputed, whether Paul in this celebrated passage, descriptive of the workings of indwelling sin, is speaking of the regenerate, or of man in his unconverted state. Instead therefore of resting on a controverted passage, I refer to other texts, from Epistles which were evidently addressed to the baptized. *The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things as ye would.* St. Paul admonishes Christians to *abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul.* And St. John writing of believers says, *if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* This very lust or concupiscence is said by him *to be not of the Father, but of the world*[e], and is expressly forbidden by the tenth Commandment, for the corresponding Greek word is the same. The meaning of the flesh we learn from our Lord, when he says, *that which is born of the flesh is flesh,* and declares that it cannot see the kingdom of God. St. Paul, in his long enumeration of the works of the flesh, does not confine himself to the sins of sensuality; and it is obvious that they cannot be subject to the law of God, since they are the very affections which that law forbids. Nor is it less certain from experience as well as from revelation, that in a soul not renewed by divine grace, this carnal-mindedness will prevail through life, and that they only who truly

[d] Gal. v. 17. [e] 1 John ii. 16.

receive Christ, and *become the children of God, are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* Experience convinces us that this is true; and that though grace may take away the strength, it cannot take away the life of sin. Though, says Bishop Beveridge, a saint may not live in sin, still sin will live in him; his strong sins may every day grow weaker, and his weak graces stronger; yet grace will not be fulfilled nor sin destroyed, while he is in the body. The Romanist too must be aware of the fact: but then he considers that the propensities which he cannot deny, are only the same which Adam had on his creation. The Article more rationally allows that they have "the *nature* of sin," but continues, "there will be no condemnation for it to the baptized." Surely we sufficiently value Baptism when we assign to it the pardon of original sin, *placing* us into a state of grace, and entitling us to such assistance as will enable us to resist and repress it. The moderation here shown is remarkable. The Westminster Confession as usual enlarges upon the subject, and is much stronger. "This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin." Our Article only says that it hath *the nature* of it; and even Augustin goes no farther, for he observes[f], explaining the words of St. James, *Every one is tempted when he is drawn aside by his own lusts,* "the mother is concupiscence, the child is sin; but concupiscence doth not bring forth, unless it conceive; and it does not conceive, unless it draw aside the will to consent to an evil action."

The difference between our own and the Roman Churches is thus exhibited by Archbishop Laurence[g]. The Schoolmen contended that the infection of our nature derived from Adam was not a mental but merely a corporeal taint; and that the body alone receives and transmits the contagion, while the soul in all instances proceeds immaculate from the hands of the Creator. Original sin they opposed to original righteousness, and this they considered not as connatural with man,

[f] contra Julian, vi. 3.

[g] Bampton Lectures.

but as a superinduced habit. They regarded therefore man as an object of divine displeasure, not because he possessed that which was offensive, but because he was defective in that which was pleasing to the Almighty. According to them, the lapse of Adam conveys imputed guilt which effectually precludes salvation, until the reception of a new birth in baptism; though the corporeal taint be not sin itself, only fomes peccati, a kind of fuel, which the human will kindles or not at pleasure. In opposition to this conceit, our Church represents original sin to be the fault and corruption of *the nature* of every man, not the loss of a superadded grace, but the vitiation of his innate powers, by which he is far gone from original righteousness, and is inclined to evil of *his own nature;* yet while she does not consider it, as the Council of Trent had then recently maintained, as an innocuous propensity, she does not declare it punishable as a crime, but, steering a middle course, asserts it only to be deserving of God's displeasure. "This infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; and yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence hath of itself the nature of sin;" are manifestly opposed to the Trent decree, which not only contradicts this very passage, but anathematizes those who hold the doctrine.

LECTURE X.

ARTICLE X.

OF FREE-WILL.

[*The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: wherefore*] *we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.*

THE preface in brackets was introduced at the revision of A.D. 1562, from the Wurtemburg Confession. A second Article followed, which was then suppressed; but I reprint it, as showing the views of our Reformers on this much contested subject.

"*Of Grace.*

"The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from man the heart of stone, and giveth him an heart of flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good works, which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil works, which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the will of man; so that no man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his will or upon constraint, and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account."

The latter part of the tenth Article is taken from St. Augustin, altered to receive an appropriate application. Sine illo operante ut velimus, aut cooperante cum volumus ad bena pietatis opera nihil valemus[a]. The additions, quæ per Christum est, and, quæ Deo grata sunt et accepta, were made to narrow the question, and assert the single point of human insufficiency to merit congruously. The English, "when we have that good will," is not a correct rendering of dum volumus. Augustin's cum has been altered into dum, and his operans into præveniens.

The tenth Article will not occupy us long, for it follows necessarily from the preceding one, since if in consequence of Birth-sin man is *so* far gone from original righteousness, that *the flesh always lusteth contrary to the spirit*, and he is born in a state deserving God's wrath and damnation; who can deny that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith, and calling upon God?

The words, "turn and prepare," are chosen with a reference to several passages in Scripture. *The preparations of the heart are from the Lord*[b]. *Turn thou me, and I shall be turned*[c]; a passage the more familiar to our ears, for having been introduced into our liturgy. In St. Luke's Gospel[d] we have both: *He shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, to make ready a people prepared for the Lord.* "Wherefore we have no power to do good works without the grace of Christ preventing us, or going before us, that we may have a good will." The Article goes still further, and with reason, for if this infection remains in the regenerate, it is not enough that the will is liberated from bondage, it must be kept from yielding to the temptations that beset it. Grace must therefore still cooperate with us when we have that good will. It is not only necessary that the Spirit sets us to work, but that He himself also work with us, for without him we cannot begin, carry on, or perfect any work really good. And this is fully recognised in our liturgy, which teaches us

[a] De Gratia, xvii. [b] Prov. xvi. 1. [c] Jeremiah xxxi. 18.
[d] Luke i. 17.

to pray, that "we may both perceive and know what things we ought to do, and may also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same." This acknowledgment frequently occurs: "Almighty God, who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves[e]—because the frailty of man without thee cannot but fail[f]—and may thy grace always prevent and follow us."

And this is fully borne out by Scripture. *He that abideth in me and I in him*, says our Saviour, *the same bringeth forth much fruit; for apart from me you can do nothing*[g]; answering as it were by anticipation Pelagius. He doth not say, that without him it is difficult, but that it is impossible to please God; *without me you can do nothing*. Whereas if we could either prepare ourselves to turn, or turn ourselves when prepared, we should do much; and to put this out of all doubt, the Apostle tells us, that it is God *that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure*[h]. He first enables us to will what we ought to do, and then to do what we will; the grace we desire, and the desire of grace, alike proceed from Him. *No man can come unto me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him*[i]*:* and St. Paul says, *we are not sufficient of ourselves* even *to think any thing as of ourselves: but that our sufficiency is of God*[k]. The understanding is so darkened, that the natural man sees no *beauty in the Saviour that he should desire him, although he be altogether lovely*, and not being conscious of his hopeless state, feels not any wish to be delivered from it. *The things of the Spirit of God are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned*[l]. And even supposing the understanding to be so far enlightened as to discern good from evil, still the will is vitiated and depraved, for we may sin against our judgment, and feel what the Apostle writing to the Romans complains of; *that which I do I allow not; for that which I would do, I do not; but what I hate, that I do*[m].

[e] Collect for the Second Sunday in Lent.
[f] Collect for the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity.
[g] John xv. 5. [h] Phil. iii. 13. [i] John vi. 44. [k] 2 Cor. iii. 5.
[l] 1 Cor. ii. 14. [m] Rom. vii. 15.

This Article therefore positively denies the freedom of the will: and yet how clamorously are those frequently attacked who hold this language, even by persons who have subscribed their assent to it. They say that man is thereby reduced to a machine, and that his agency is resolved into necessity, which clears him from responsibility, but in this they only betray their ignorance; and if they were acquainted with the writings of the Divines whom they think it no sin to condemn unheard as fatalists, ascribing to them doctrines and consequences which they have again and again disclaimed, and indeed often confuted, they would perceive that they have confounded two perfectly distinct questions, a *religious* and a *philosophical* one, and this the very terms used show to an attentive reader; for it is not *will, arbitrium*, that is denied, but *free* will, *liberum arbitrium*. That every man has *a will*, Heathen or Christian, the most profligate sinner as well as the most perfect saint, must be allowed by all reasonable persons who study their own volitions, or observe those of their neighbours, and has never been denied, I apprehend, by the most ultra Calvinist. It is for philosophers to discuss the profound subject of liberty and necessity, that is, whether we have a will of indifference, or whether the will is always influenced by motives, so that it necessarily chooses what appears to it to be upon the whole best. Let this question however be decided as it may, it does not affect our Article. The *will* still, theologically speaking, remains, but it is not *free*, but *enslaved:* not that we mean to say, as our opponents choose to state it, that a man sins against his will, but most willingly, because he is inclined to sin; and again, when the will is set free by grace, we are not driven to Christ *against our will*, but God draws us *with* our wills, making us a *willing people in the day of his power*[n]. I transcribe a passage from a sermon of the late Thomas Scott, the pious and excellent commentator, who after stating that the invitation to come to Christ is general, and that no one is accepted by name or character, thus meets the objection, that sinners cannot obey the call. "This is a truth, if properly understood. They are

[n] Psalm cx.

under a *moral* not a *natural* inability. Is this distinction useless or unintelligible? Is there no difference between a covetous wretch, who with a full purse hath *no heart*, and a compassionate man who hath *no money* to relieve a fellow-creature in distress? Both are effectually prevented, but the one from himself, the other by an external hindrance. When the case is put divested of all false colouring, the one *could if he would*, the other *would if he could*. It is said of God that *he cannot lie*, but whence arises this impossibility? surely not from external restraint, but from the perfection of his essential holiness. Satan cannot but hate his Maker, not because of outward force put upon him, but through the malignity of his disposition. If there be no real difference between the want of natural faculties and that of moral dispositions, there can be no culpability; but what is it that God requires from man? not to love him as an angel does, but with all his human heart, with all the strength that *he has;* and why does he not do this, which he must allow to be a reasonable service? merely because he does not like it. Man is not reduced to the state of the brute who has no *power*, but of the evil spirits who have no *inclination* to obey. And where our fellow-creatures only are concerned, all think alike; for no one would allow that a thief should be acquitted who said, I am so prone to steal that I cannot help it; and all grant that a failure from a sudden strong temptation is more venial than when the effect of a rooted disposition. Sinners cannot stoop so low and leave so much as the Gospel requires; they cannot be willing to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, and follow Christ, and without this *willingness*, they cannot be his disciples. This is the real and the *only* hindrance. Were they once willing, they would ask, and God would give them all the rest. Such as become willing are drawn by rational inducements, and this drawing is affected not by the communication of new *faculties*, but of new *dispositions*, and of discoveries which give a new direction to the judgment, desires, and affections. *They are taught by God*, and learn from the Father who takes the veil from their hearts, and causes *his light to shine upon them*, and within them,

convincing them *of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment*, and laying open to their view the eternal world in all its tremendous importance; till alarmed at their danger, they take warning *to flee from the wrath to come.* Their terror is accompanied by humiliation and penitence: and despairing of atoning for the past, or justifying themselves before a holy God, they are made cordially willing to accept of a free salvation. They discover likewise the necessity of personal holiness, and that none can be meet for the presence of a holy God, without conformity to his holiness. At the same time they learn their natural inability to obtain it; and therefore prize sanctification by the Spirit no less than redemption by the blood of Christ, and in proportion as these views prevail, sin grows odious to them, and the attraction of worldly objects diminishes." And to show that this is no modern refinement, I quote from Bishop Beveridge on this Article. "The fall did not destroy the will, but corrupted it; it is still free, but not to God, only to the world and sin. It is a willing necessity; man willingly loves sin, not from any *external* but an *internal* necessity, not forced by others, but allured by himself, his own will being so taken by sin that he cannot but take delight in it; he *cannot* turn to God, and why not but because he *will not*, and therefore if he cannot *will* it, he cannot *do* it. By rectifying the will, its liberty is not destroyed but healed, so that it is free after as well as before conversion." The subject was discussed early in the Reformation, 1524, by Erasmus and Luther, and the latter styles his tract, "De servo Arbitrio;" and the following sentences show his opinion to be the same as that I have now stated. "I wish we had a better word than necessity, for it conveys an idea of restraint, which is totally contrary to the act of choosing. So long as the operative grace of God is absent from us, every thing we do has in it a mixture of evil, and therefore of necessity our works avail not to salvation. I mean, not a necessity of compulsion, but a necessity as to the certainty of the event. A man who has not the Spirit of God does evil willingly, but not against his will; and though he may be externally restrained from

doing evil, he is averse to the restraint, and his inclination remains the same. Again, when the Holy Spirit is pleased to change the will of a bad man, the new man still acts *voluntarily*, he is not *compelled* by the Spirit to determine contrary to his will, but his will itself is changed." This is well expressed in the Helvetic Confession of faith. Non sublatus est quidem homini intellectus, non erepta ei voluntas, et prorsus in lapidem vel truncum est commutatus—intellectus obscuratus est, voluntas vero ex libera facta est voluntas serva, nam servit peccato, non nolens sed volens, etenim voluntas non noluntas dicitur. Ergo quoad malum sive peccatum homo non coactus vel a Deo vel a Diabolo sed sua sponte malum facit et hac parte liberrimi est judicii. And I conclude with one extract to the same effect from the great doctor of grace, as he has been called, Augustin[o]. Magnum aliquid Pelagiani se scire putant quum dicunt non juberet Deus quod sciret non posse ab homini fieri, sed ideo jubet aliqua quæ non possumus, quia ab illo petere debeamus. Ipsa est enim fides quæ orando impetrat quod lex imperat. Certe est nos velle quum volumus, sed ille facit ut velimus bonum, quum dicit faciam ut faciatis. Ipse ut velimus operatur incipiens, qui volentibus cooperatur perficiens. Qui dicet facite dicit etiam dabo vobis. Voluntas non tollitur sed ex mala mutatur in bonam. Vult homo sed non bene vult nisi fuit liberatus. It requires little experience to know, that the law which clearly defines duty, gives no ability to perform it; that is the peculiar gift and glory of the gospel; obedience is not the result of a command authoritatively enforced on our incapable nature, but the result of the operation of God's Spirit by changing our inclination. To this, and not to conviction of its reasonableness, does the Apostle ascribe holiness; and the rubric in the Communion Service, which precedes the reading of the Commandments, intimates that it is by grace alone that we can keep them. Now the law knows nothing of grace, accordingly we acknowledge our natural incapacity, when at the end of each we say, "Lord, have mercy upon us," that is, in pardoning our violation of it; and we seek refuge in the

[o] De gratia et libero Arbitrio, tom. vii. c. xvi.

gospel when we say, "incline our hearts to keep" it; and we conclude with pleading the new covenant, as the only source of obedience, "Write all these thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee." Remember, O Lord, thy promise in thy new covenant of mercy, and give us, what by nature we cannot have, a hearty desire to do thy will and to obey thy commandments.

We have not yet had the opportunity of considering the important and comprehensive doctrine of Grace, which like other dogmas lay comparatively unnoticed in Scripture, as the ore in the mine, till controversy caused enquiry, and it was as it were gradually transmuted into the shining and useful metal. It is recognised by none of the early Councils, and does not occur in the Creeds, and there is no definition of it in our formularies. In a popular sense, derived from the Augustinian and the Scholastic, it may be defined as a specific influence, passing as it were a ray from the sun, from the Holy Spirit to the human soul, as a gift supernaturally infused, and may be considered as conveyed through preaching, the Sacraments, and other channels, or as coming immediately from Him who is the author of every good and perfect gift, the source of spiritual as well as of temporal life, *dividing His gifts severally as He will.* Theological terms ought always to be traced up to the primary sense, which will more or less modify the secondary; and is the most effectual method of confuting and guarding against erroneous received conclusions. Gratia, you are aware, is the translation of χάρις, meaning first a favour bestowed, and next the thankfulness it produces in the receiver[p]. It occurs more than a hundred times in the New Testament, and is sometimes rendered *favour* and sometimes *grace*, and it will be useful to bear in mind, that the first is the original meaning. Thus our version properly

[p] Gratia, and grâce in French, are used in this sense, which is retained in English in the phrase of saying Grace before and after meals. Dr. John Taylor has made a collection of texts in which χάρις occurs, and though he finds ten senses for the word, he will not include among them this. Yet in his paraphrase of Romans viii. 27, he allows that the Holy Spirit inspired good dispositions. Another collection may be found, with translations, in Wilson's Bampton Lecture, 1851.

renders, *Jesus increased in favour with God and man*[p], as well as *having favour with the people*[q]. But not such passages as, *Now to him that worketh*[r], *reward is not reckoned of grace but of debt; therefore it is of faith that it might be of grace.* I prefer *grow in grace*[s], and *my grace is sufficient for thee*[t], to favour, yet at the same time we should bear in mind the primary idea, *favour. Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift*, might have been better rendered *favour.* That memorable address of the Angel to the Virgin, *Hail, Mary, highly favoured*, which the Roman Catholics are continually addressing to her as a prayer, conveys a very different idea when read in the Rheims Testament erroneously, *full of grace.*

Divines have given distinguishing epithets to grace, according to its manner and power of operation. As it begins to act, it is called, according to the now obsolete Latin idiom, *preventing* or going before, familiar to our ears from the Collect, "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour," so often used to introduce the sermon, yet it is to be feared understood only by a few of the congregation. It is well described in its acting by Milton, with an equivalent epithet;

> Prevenient grace descending had removed
> The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
> Regenerate grow instead; that sigh now breathed
> Unutterable; which the spirit of prayer
> Inspired, and winged for heaven, with speedier flight
> Than loudest oratory.

The grace which afterwards works with us when we have a good will, is called *cooperating*, and when it preserves us from sin, *restraining.* Divines have also enquired into its mode of acting, whether its effects be instantaneous or gradual, and this has given rise to much theological discussion. If however we are by nature *dead in trespasses and sin*, and have no power to do good works, and we properly pray to God to *create a right spirit within us;* our sanctification must commence not on our part, but with the Holy Spirit,

[p] Luke ii. 52. [q] Acts iv. 47. [r] Rom. iv. 4. 16. [s] 2 Pet. iii. 18. [t] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

and must be instantaneous, though it may in most cases be unperceived by the recipient, like the good seed in the parable, which grows up the sower *knoweth not how*. The miraculous call which produced immediate obedience in Saul the persecutor ; cannot be mistaken, nor was it more gradually, though it was by a gentle influence, that the Lord opened the heart of Lydia to the truths of the Gospel. As "the infection of original sin doth remain even in the baptized," too many of those "who profess and call themselves Christians," often resist, even if they do not *quench the Spirit;* while to prevent the profligate from despair, we have for their encouragement in every age illustrious instances of *brands plucked out of the burning;* as Augustin, Colonel Gardiner, and John Newton. But all brands are not plucked out. A favour has been conferred, grace has been imparted, and He who bestowed the favour "willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live." Yet these are impenitent sinners who have been baptized, and the impenitent sinner will perish. Can we then frustrate the grace of God? once given, can it be lost? or is it indefectible and invincible? In vain shall we attempt to remove the clouds that hover round the throne of our Creator and Sovereign. Creatures must not attempt to discover "the counsel" of the Creator, "secret to us," or to read in his hidden decrees their title to eternal blessedness. But theologians, in their desire to vindicate the ways of God, have introduced a distinction between the grace which is conferred upon all, and that which is reserved for the elect. In the Church of Rome, the Dominicans have been the advocates of efficacious grace, which according to Pascal was preached by Paul, and explained by Augustin, and transmitted to them by Thomas Aquinas as a deposit to be ever maintained, and which they had gloriously defended under the Popes, Clement and Paul. Sufficient grace was maintained by the Jesuits, whom the Jansenists their opponents condemn as semi-Pelagian and Arminian. Sufficient grace would be sufficient to answer its purpose, if men were willing to avail themselves of it, but the weakness of man and his tendency

to sin prevents it; efficacious grace alone succeeds, and turns the will in the right direction. The distinction prevails in our divinity under the epithets of *common* and *special.* From the former, the sixteenth Article teaches us we may fall and arise again, the latter it should seem would preserve us unto everlasting life. "My good child," says the Catechism, "know that thou art not able to walk in the commandments of God without his *special* grace, which thou must learn at all times to call for by diligent prayer:" and in the Easter Collect, "We humbly beseech Almighty God, that as by his special grace preventing us, he does put into our minds good desires, so by his continual help we may bring the same to good effect[s]." The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength. This shows that man is viewed in this as in other Articles not as a Christian, but as under the weight of original sin; a fact too apt to be forgotten, which explains and justifies the apparent harshness of the language both here, and in some of the Homilies.

[s] Hey, on this Article.

LECTURE XI.

ARTICLE XI.

OF THE JUSTIFICATION OF MAN.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

No tenet of Christianity has been more warmly contested, or so variously explained, as Justification; nor is this surprising, since of all it most deeply concerns us, for on the settlement of this depends the answer to the most momentous of all questions, *What shall I do to be saved?* Can good works, if indeed man has any to offer, recommend him for acceptance; or will *faith* be taken instead, and *counted to him for righteousness;* or is salvation to be obtained from an union of the two? The latter is decided by the Council of Trent, which says, "Si quis dixerit homines justificari vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola peccatorum remissione, exclusâ gratiâ, et caritate quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum Sanctum diffundatur atque in illis inhæreat, aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei, anathema sit:" evidently confounding sanctification with justification. This no doubt was particularly levelled against Luther, whose reformation may be chiefly characterised by his reviving and proclaiming unreservedly in all its fulness, the great doctrine of Protestantism and of Christianity, justification by faith only,

the belief or neglect of which he considered with reason, as the sign of a standing or falling Church.

The age of Augustine was engaged in the discussion of original sin and grace, but human agency had been little considered. The settlement of this point was reserved for the period of the Reformation. It is well known, that it was the sale of indulgences that awakened the indignation of Luther; but no real reformation could be accomplished through the correcting the abuses of this traffic. The only adequate remedy was the knowledge of the true scheme of justification; and if it could once be established, this and all other human contrivances for procuring pardon would be rejected as unavailing. The state of Christendom was peculiarly adapted to its reception. Believers had become *entangled with a yoke of bondage*, and through the prevailing doctrinal corruptions, could not find access to the throne of grace of their heavenly Father. The road of simple faith, grounded on the divine promises, always connected with humility, and productive of hearty and grateful obedience, was stopped up with briars and thorns. No certain rest could be afforded to the wearied mind; and a state of doubt and anxiety was even recommended by spiritual advisers. What joyful intelligence then was the real gospel, of remission of sins through Christ alone, to be received by faith! a doctrine which indeed pervades the New Testament; but that precious volume, which had not yet been printed, was then almost unknown. In his monastery, however, Luther had found a Latin Bible, which he diligently examined, and discovered in it this consolatory and sanctifying truth. For we must not respect him merely, as he is described by the worldly historian, as the energetic opponent of ecclesiastical abuses, and the vindicator of the right of human judgment. Milner has shown, that with all his infirmity of temper he was a humble Christian; and that his chief desire was to spread genuine vital Christianity. He himself tells us, that his thirst to understand the Epistle to the Romans was insatiable; and that as he was meditating day and night upon the righteousness therein revealed, it pleased God to open his eyes, and to show him that it

related to the method of justifying a sinner by faith. "Hence I felt myself a new man, and all the Scriptures appeared to have a new face; I ran quickly through them, as my memory enabled me; I collected together the leading terms, and I observed in their meaning a strict analogy according to my new views. The expression, Righteousness of God, now became as sweet to my mind as it had been hateful before; and this very passage of St. Paul, against which my heart had risen up in a silent sort of blasphemy, proved to me the entrance into Paradise[a]." He settled the true limits of the Law and the Gospel, and distinguished between acceptance with God and personal holiness. The former he shows is received as a free gift on Christ's account alone by faith, in the heart of a humbled sinner, and implies complete pardon and reconciliation with God; the latter, which he insists on as equally necessary for eternal happiness, he describes as *conjoined*, but not *compounded*, with the former, imperfect always in this life, but when sincerely pursued, affording a pure delight. Neither the superstitions of the Papists, the splendid alms of the ostentatious, nor the most powerful efforts of unassisted nature, avail in the smallest degree to the purchase of pardon and peace; and he who in real humility rests in Christ alone, is the true Christian. This precious doctrine here stated has no doubt been frequently abused; and St. Paul's Epistles abound with suitable cautions. The sixth chapter of that to the Romans is decisive on the point; and this very fact, that the true notion of justification is apparently liable to a charge of Antinomianism, unquestionably demonstrates that Luther and the other Reformers did not misunderstand the Apostle, because, on the supposition that he meant to ascribe justification to human works in any sense, the plausibility of the objection loses all foundation.

How came it that our ecclesiastical historians entirely omit or slightly mention the extraordinary labour Luther bestowed upon the Epistle to the Galatians? Must not the answer be, that they do not view the corruptions of the Roman Church with the same eyes? They are

[a] Tom. i. Preface.

abundant in their praises of him for his exertions against papal tyranny and superstition, but scarcely a sentence escapes them in commendation of his peculiar Christian tenets. Hence many have been taught to admire the Reformation, while they remain ignorant of its fundamental principles. Luther himself says in this exposition, "As I have often forewarned you, our greatest and most pressing danger is, lest the Devil should contrive to take away from us the pure doctrine of faith, and bring back into the Church the exploded notions of works and human traditions. This Christian article can never be handled and inculcated too much; if this doctrine perish, the knowledge of every truth in religion will perish with it. On the contrary, if this do but flourish, all good things will also flourish[b]." Unhappily the doctrine has been nearly lost among the continental Protestants; and within half a century was rarely brought forward in our own country from the pulpit or the press. It is once more generally acknowledged among us, and the beneficial effects of it are apparent both in a deeper piety, and its best evidence, a greater activity of Christian love. Nevertheless, several of our divines do not seem to be fully aware of its paramount importance; and too many have recourse to Papal modes of mixing up faith and works as the conditions of our justification.

I now proceed to the Article, which, notwithstanding all that has been preached and written about it, states a simple proposition, easy to be proved from Scripture, and which fairly stated recommends itself to our judgment. Indeed, if we were to keep constantly to the definition of justification, I conceive there could be no dispute; for justification is not our *becoming* righteous, but, as the Article says, our being *accounted* righteous; and this is the only righteousness that a *sinner* can possess. The *ninth* Article showed that man was born with a corrupt nature, and the *tenth*, that he had no power to free himself from this corruption. If he then is to be accepted, it cannot be for his merits, for the preceding Articles show that he cannot lay claim to any; and if he could, then he would not

[b] v. p. 272.

only be *accounted*, but *be*, at least in a degree, righteous. But the Article observes, we are accounted righteous "only for," propter, on account of, "the merits of our Lord and Saviour, and not for our own works or deservings." And here we may observe, whatever we lost in the first Adam, we recovered in the second. Are we accounted sinners by the imputation of Adam's sin, it is for the sake of Christ's righteousness that we are accounted righteous. The Apostle says, *to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.* But as long as a man is ungodly, he cannot be said to be justified by any, but an *outward* righteousness, so that *justification* is properly opposed to *accusation. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? it is Christ that died,* but not because they are themselves righteous, but because *Christ was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him*[c]. He was accounted a sinner, and therefore punished for us; we are accounted righteous, and therefore glorified in him: our sins were laid upon him, and therefore he died for us in time; his righteousness is laid upon us, and therefore we shall live with him for ever. Thus was the innocent punished as if guilty, that the guilty might be rewarded as if they were innocent. And this is the right notion of Justification as distinguished from Sanctification; the first is the imputation of righteousness to us, the second is the implantation of it in us; the one is the act of God *towards* us, the other is the act of God *in* us; but though distinct they are never separate, for the first will invariably produce the second.

The merits of Christ, however, can be of no more avail to the sinner, than food is to the hungry man who cannot get it, or medicine to the diseased who refuses it. To be beneficial it must be made ours, and this can only be by our believing its efficacy. Faith therefore is the means by which it is appropriated; we are not saved *by* faith, but *by* grace *through* faith, and this is accurately expressed in the Article, on account of Christ's merits as the *cause*, by faith

[c] 2 Cor. v. 21.

as *the instrument*, "the only hand, as Hooker writes, which putteth on Christ to justification, and Christ is the only garment which being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, and hideth the imperfection of our works, before whom otherwise the weakness of our faith was cause sufficient to make us culpable; yea to shut us out from the kingdom of heaven, where nothing that is not absolute can enter." In renouncing the merit of our works, we must beware of making a merit of our faith, and turning that into a good work, and against this the Homily on Salvation, Part V, warns us. "The true understanding of this doctrine, we be justified freely by faith without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only, is not that this our faith doth justify us, and deserve our justification unto us, (for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act within ourselves;) but the true meaning is, that we must renounce the merits of all our virtues and faith, as too weak and insufficient to deserve remission of sins. As great and as godly a virtue as lively faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and appointeth us unto Christ, as to have only by him justification, so that our faith in Christ, as it were, saveth; it is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only, and to him only I send you for that purpose. Seeing then that his merits are made over to us by our faith in him, we are said to be justified by faith, not as it is an act in us, but as it applies Christ to us. No doctrine is more clearly revealed: and the conclusion of the Epistle to the Romans, the only systematic view we have from inspired authority of Christianity, is deduced from the guilt and corruption of both Jew and Gentile, of those who had the written law as well as of those who had only the light of nature, that *man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law*. And no exception is made even for Abraham, the father and pattern of believers. His acts of obedience were most pleasing to God, and will be had *in everlasting remembrance*, but they were not the cause or condition of his justification. They indeed afford the noblest testimony that his faith was genuine; and in that sense he was justified, or declared righteous by his works; but they were far from being placed to his account in the

article of divine acceptance; for if Abraham were justified by his own works, he hath whereof to glory. But what saith the Scripture? *Abraham believed* the promise of God, concerning the Messiah, *and it was counted to him for righteousness.* Nor had he any exclusive privilege, for it is added, *now it was not written in the* ancient Scriptures *for his sake alone, for they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham.* Certainly, if a person of such victorious faith, exalted piety, and amazing obedience, did not obtain acceptance with God on account of his holiness or duty, who shall pretend to an interest in the heavenly blessing, in virtue of his sincere endeavours or pious performances, performances not fit to be named in comparison with those that adorned the conduct and character of him whom Jehovah emphatically calls his *friend?* The Apostle having shown in what way the Father of the chosen people was justified, in illustration of his doctrine, presents the reader with David's description of the man who is truly blessed, not because he is free from sin, but because the Lord will not impute it to him. Justification then is by a righteousness *without* us, sanctification by holiness wrought *in* us; that precedes as a cause, this follows as an effect; justification is by Christ as a priest, and has regard to the *guilt* of sin; sanctification is by him as a king, and refers to its *dominion;* the former deprives it of its condemning power, the latter of its reigning; justification is instantaneous and complete in all its subjects, sanctification is progressive. The persons on whom the blessing of sanctification is bestowed are the justified, who are in a state of acceptance. Sanctification is a blessing of the new covenant, and in that gracious constitution is promised as a choice privilege, not required as an entitling condition. The same doctrine is announced to the Galatians; *Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ*[d]. *For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast*[e]. *And I count all things but loss, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is*

[d] Gal. ii. 16. [e] Eph. ii. 8. and Phil. iii. 8.

through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.

And indeed, if the Scriptures were less explicit, reason should convince us, that nothing but perfect undeviating obedience could justify us, which none can be so presumptuous as to claim. Even if we could make this claim honestly, we still should have done no more than it was our duty to do. And how can God be indebted to us by our payment of what we owe him? There can be but two sorts of justification, our own inherent righteousness, or Christ's imputed. The notion therefore still so common, though perhaps but half avowed, that when we have done our best, He will make up our deficiencies, when thoroughly examined will be found to have no scriptural foundation, and can only be entertained by those who confound justification and sanctification. To complete our proof, the thirteenth Article declares, that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God, and have even the nature of sin. If this be true, it is impossible that we should be justified by works; since whatever precedes justification, instead of recommending us as worthy of it, requires to be forgiven.

This doctrine is said to be full of comfort, and this will be readily conceded: for if we were to look to our own merits for acceptance, knowing our frailty and the strength of temptation, we might well despair of holding out to the end of our career; and the negligences and infirmities into which all have fallen, happy indeed if they have escaped altogether from grosser sins, might well excite doubts and misgivings; but it is also called *wholesome*, saluberrima, or salutary; and this meets the grand practical objection; for it has been abused in every age, as if it gave us licence to sin, and that because we were delivered from condemnation, we might live as we pleased, and many are afraid of stating it fully, for fear of this consequence. This arises from a misunderstanding of the word faith, which we know from the Epistle of James was understood by some to be no more than a mere historical belief. This opinion he confutes at once by the simple statement, that *the demons also believe*, yet notwithstanding *tremble*. In theological

knowledge, who can compare with the evil spirits, for doubtless they excel the most gifted of the sons of Adam in capacity, and they may be said not only to believe but to know. It follows then, that to constitute saving faith, the affections must unite with the intellect. Christianity must not only satisfy the judgment that it is true, but it must recommend itself to the heart as desirable. It must be *worked into us by love*, as well as *work by love*, for either translations of ἐνεργούμενη, whichever be deemed the correct one, conveys an important truth. *We must receive the truth in the love of it.*

It is to be lamented, that the definition of Faith in several popular religious works is of an Antinomian tendency. It has been advocated by men of eminence and of holiness; but appears to me to be calculated to encourage the presumptuous in sin, and to plunge the humble into despair. It makes the essence of faith to consist in *assurance*, in other words, that it is the duty of all to believe that Christ is their Saviour, and it follows that those who have not this belief are destitute of saving faith. Such persons seem to confound the result of faith with faith itself, though the distinction is retained in Scripture[f]. Bishop Bull and Barrow both argue against this doctrine; and the latter has a Sermon on justifying faith, in which he says, that this definition inverts and confounds the order of things; for faith is in Scripture set before obtaining God's good will, (as a prerequisite condition thereto,) but this assumes God to be our friend by our knowing that he is; and supposes the assurance of coming to our journey's end to be the way of getting there! The doctrine is also abjured and confuted by some of our Calvinistic divines, who distinguish between a faith of adherence, and a faith of assurance. Thus, faith, says Archbishop Usher, is that act of God by which he opens the understanding to assent to the truth of the Gospel scheme of salvation, and inclines the heart to see its excellence, and embrace it. But it is not necessary, he adds,

[f] Thus in Eph. iii. 12. we are said to have access ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως, in confidence through faith, cum fiducia per fidem.

to my justification to be assured that my sins are pardoned. No, that is not an act of faith as it justifieth, but an effect and fruit that followeth after; for no man is pardoned by believing that he is pardoned, for he must be pardoned before he can believe it. It is the direct act of faith that justifieth, and it is the reflect act that causes assurance. Whoever relieth upon Christ for justification, by so doing, is justified according to the Word of God, But many times both propositions may be granted to be true, and yet a weak Christian may want strength to draw the conclusion; for it is one thing to believe, and another to believe that I believe. Faith is but the espying of Christ as the only means to save, and the reaching out of the heart to lay hold of him. As soon as the soul can do this, God imputeth to it the righteousness of his Son, and it is actually justified in the court of heaven, though it is not immediately quieted in the court of conscience. That is done afterwards, in some sooner, in some later, by the effects and fruits of justification. In conformity with this distinction, Andrew Fuller, I conceive, argues correctly; showing that a man can never be required to believe as a fact what he cannot know to be such, and which may be even untrue. Scott takes the same view when he says, that nothing can be an object of faith except what God has revealed in his word; but the interest of any individual in the blessings of the Gospel is not revealed. Salvation is mentioned with respect not to *persons* but to *characters*. God abundantly promises, that all who believe in, love, and obey him, shall be saved; and a persuasion that *if we sustain these characters*, we shall be saved, is doubtless an exercise of faith; but whether we do or not is an object not of faith, but of consciousness. *Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected; hereby know we that we are in him.* To believe ourselves in a state of salvation, (however desirable when grounded on evidence,) is far inferior in its object to saving faith. The grand object on which faith fixes is the glory of Christ, and not our happy condition as interested in him. It is the peculiar property of true faith to endear

Christ. *Unto you that believe he is precious;* and when this is the case, if there be no impediment from constitutional dejection or other accidental causes, we shall seldom be in doubt respecting our interest in him. *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.* The faith which our Lord highly commends, as that of the centurion and of the woman of Canaan, is represented as terminating upon his all-sufficiency to heal them, and not as consisting in a persuasion that they should succeed, because specially objects of his favour. And indeed the Scriptures always represent faith as terminating in something without us. It is the truth and excellence of the scheme which the sinner is apt to disbelieve, and it is on this that faith primarily fixes. His personal interest in it ought to be called *hope.* And this is a remark which I wish to impress upon your attention, for it is strange how commonly Faith and Hope are confounded, though the Apostle, contrasting them with the spiritual gifts of his own age, declares, that these, with the third Christian grace Love, will abide in the Church, after the former have been withdrawn. *Faith* I regard as a firm conviction of the truth of Christianity; but it is *Hope* which satisfies me that I have an interest in it; and that hope is described by the Apostle to the Hebrews as *an anchor to the soul, sure and stedfast.* It is the effect and the completion of faith, *by which we have access* to Christianity, or, as the Apostle calls it, this *grace,* [favour] *wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God; a hope which maketh not ashamed.* I cannot but think, that if this distinction had been carefully observed, erroneous definitions of faith would, if suggested, have been corrected, and many a weak and scrupulous believer would have been spared much harassing perplexity. We find in the Epistle to the Hebrews both the *assurance of faith,* and *the assurance of hope,* which the books to the teaching of which I object confound, but which the inspired writer uses as conveying different ideas. "He who so understands the Gospel, as to perceive the relation of each part to all the rest, and its use as a part of one grand design, has the

full assurance of understanding[g]. The man who is fully convinced that this consistent and harmonious, though complicated, scheme is the work of God, and has no doubt that Christ will certainly save all true believers, has the *full assurance of faith*[h]; though he may through misapprehension or other causes doubt of his own personal interest in this salvation. But he who beyond doubt is assured that he himself is a true believer and a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed, has the *full assurance of hope*. The first is the duty of every Christian, but the second must be attained and preserved by diligence. In its highest meaning it is attained by comparatively few, and is seldom, if ever, preserved without some degree of diminution or variation through the remainder of life[i]."

Our own Church does not encourage any false definition of Faith, for it is described in the Homily as a trust in God that our offences are obliterated by the blood of Christ; [not, when we believe them to be obliterated, but] whensoever repenting we truly return to him with our whole heart, stedfastly determining with ourselves through his grace to obey and serve him, in keeping his commandments. It sends us not to fancies and feelings which are variable, but to what can be ascertained, to actions, the only evidence which Scripture allows of a state of grace. The primary meaning of Faith is belief, the secondary reliance, and both occur in Scripture, and in reality coincide. We are told that faith and repentance are the conditions of acceptance, but the latter is included within the former; and even those who talk of obedience or good works as a condition, err more in language than meaning, for faith also includes them. For if I really believe in Christ as a Saviour, I by that very act confess that I believe that I need a Saviour, that is, I am morally diseased, and cannot cure myself. I must also follow the advice of this Physician of the soul, and if I believe he died to procure the salvation of mine from the double penalty of sin, its guilt and power, I cannot but loathe the offences which put him to shame

[g] Col. ii. 2. [h] Heb. x. 22. [i] Scott on Heb. vii. 11.

and misery, and caused him to humble himself unto death. Both this repentance and gratitude for his unmerited philanthropy I can only prove by an endeavour to perform my duty. If he died for me, I judge with the Apostle that *I must live to him;* and reason no less than Scripture tells me, that if sin was the cause of his death, his redeemed people should abhor it, *be zealous of good works, and, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, live soberly, righteously, and godly;* that is, fulfil their duty in its triple division as referred to God, our neighbour, and ourselves; since they long to be hereafter with him, and never can unless they endeavour to purify themselves even *as he is pure.* The purifying nature of genuine faith cannot be overlooked by any reader of the New Testament; and indeed the inspired writers are so anxious to guard against any Antinomian abuse of the doctrine, that they rarely mention free salvation without pointing out its indissoluble connection with holiness. *Faith worketh by love,* says St. Paul; and *whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ,* according to St. John, *is born of God; and this,* he continues, *is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.*

At the Reformation, it is no wonder that this doctrine, which had been long forgotten, should be occasionally abused; and that the Romanists, some maliciously and more ignorantly, should urge the common objection against it, which we must allow to be plausible. Luther, however, takes care to disclaim the imputation continually in his Commentary on the Galatians. "A true and lively faith is opposite to the feigned faith of the hypocrite; and incites a man to good works through love. He that would be a Christian must be a believer, but no man is a sound believer if works of charity do not follow his faith. Thus on both hands the Apostle shuts hypocrites out of the kingdom of God. On the left he shuts out all who depend upon their works for salvation; when he says, *neither circumcision nor uncircumcision,* that is, no kind of work, but faith alone avails before God. On the right he excludes all slothful idle persons, who are disposed to say if faith justifies us without works, than let us have no anxiety

respecting them, let us only take care and believe, and we may do whatever we please. Not so, ye enemies of godliness. It is true that Paul tells you faith alone without works justifies; however, he also tells you, that a true faith after it hath justified, does not permit a man to slumber in indolence, but that it worketh by love. To teach justification by faith without works, and at the same time to insist on the necessity of good works, it must be owned is a matter of considerable difficulty and danger. If works alone are taught, as in the Pope's kingdom, faith is lost; again, if nothing but faith be inculcated, carnal men soon begin to dream that there is no need of good works. How careful is Paul to avoid being misunderstood. The faith of true believers, says Hooker, cannot be divorced from hope and love afterwards; it is a childish cavil, wherewith in the matter of justification our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming that we tread all Christian virtues under our feet, and require nothing but faith, because we teach that faith alone justifieth, whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified, or works from being added as necessary duties required at the hands of every justified man. Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth works at their hands which will be saved, but that she attributeth unto them a power of satisfying God for sin, yea a virtue to merit both grace here, and in heaven glory; and that this overthroweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly."

I conclude with a reference to the Homily which we formally approve, and which has the more weight, because the Article sends us to it for a further explanation. It calls it the Homily of Justification, but there is none with that title, and that on Salvation seems to be the one intended. Nothing can be more clear than the doctrine as there stated, and none who reads it can mistake the nature of the faith that is said to justify, for it declares that we are esteemed righteous in God's sight solely for the sake of Christ; and not *rendered* perfectly so, in point of fact, as the

Papists held, by our own virtues, which we are told are far too weak, insufficient, and imperfect to deserve the remission of our sins; and that we are thus reputed righteous, not on account of the *act* but of the *object* of faith, on account of him in whom alone we are to trust, except upon a previous condition, that is, that we truly repent and turn to God unfeignedly; for when, as the same Homily remarks, we are said to be justified by faith only, it is not meant that this justifying faith is in man alone, but the purport of such expressions is to take away all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve justification at God's hands. The right and true Christian faith is not only to believe that holy Scripture and all the Articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ, whereof doth follow a loving heart to keep his commandments: but we are not left to infer this: obedience is positively enjoined. *If ye love me*, said our Lord, *keep my commandments;* and he warns them that at the last day he will reject all the workers of iniquity, though they have acknowledged him as their master. And as he has commanded us to fulfil every moral duty, it is as much a part of faith to believe that we ought to do what he commands, as to believe what he promises. "This faith the holy Scripture teacheth, this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion; this doctrine all ancient doctors of Christ's Church do approve; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain-glory of man; this whosoever denieth is not to be accounted for a Christian man."

LECTURE XII.

ARTICLE XII.

OF GOOD WORKS.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away [expiate] our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

The same language also pervades the Homily upon Faith; and certainly no candid reader of our formularies can fail to see the distinction always carefully observed between a true and lively, and a dead devilish and feigned faith, which bringeth forth either evil works or none that are good. Still from anxiety not to be misunderstood, it was thought expedient, at Archbishop Parker's revision of the Articles, to add this, which beginning with 'Albeit,' seems to be intended as a continuation of the preceding, and a caution against the possible abuse of it. That Article excluded works from any share in our justification, lest any should therefore despise them as useless; another is added, declaring that though they cannot expiate sin, nor from their imperfection endure the severity of God's judgment, yet they are pleasing to Him, and are also the necessary effects of faith. The Council of Trent has decreed, that men by their good works have fully satisfied

the divine law, and that these good works are of their own nature meritorious of eternal life. It is true that this high tone is lowered by the intimation, that none ought to glory in himself, but in the Lord, whose goodness makes his own gifts to them to be meritorious. And to this they are led by the notion, that nothing can please God in which there is a mixture of sin; whereas we believe that though our nature even when regenerate retains so much alloy, that our best deeds could not bear his scrutiny, He notwithstanding graciously passes over the defects of those who serve him sincerely. Our Saviour, as Augustine often urges, in teaching us to pray, has made *forgive us our trespasses* a standing petition, as well as *give us our daily bread;* for we sin daily, and so always need a pardon; and from this and from the confessions of the holiest Christians, humbling themselves for the imperfection of their obedience, we conclude that our good works need Christ's intercession, and are therefore only acceptable to God in Him. But if it be granted that they are defective, they can have no pretension to merit; and Bishop Burnet well observes, that merit has a sound so daring and so little suitable to the humility of a creature, (I may add, much more of a sinner,) to be used towards a Being of infinite majesty, and with relation to endless rewards; that though a sense is given to it by many of the Church of Rome, to which no just exception can be made, yet there seems to be something too bold in it, especially when *condignity* or worthiness is added. That they are pleasing to God cannot be doubted, for it was to serve him that man was first created; and when renewed, we are told that he is God's *workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works.* It is his will that they should be done, and therefore they cannot but please him when they are done. That which is of his *commanding,* cannot but be of his *accepting:* and moreover as whatever is good in them is derived from his grace, they may be considered as in some respect his. Good works, or virtue, is the grand object of Christianity, for we are called unto holiness, our sanctification is the will of God, and God sent Christ *to bless us by turning us from our*

iniquities. Good works from Christian motives is the great subject of the preaching of our Lord, and of his Apostles. To enumerate all the texts that prove it would be to transcribe a large portion of the New Testament. The following specimen must suffice. *I exhort, that supplications be made for kings and all in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour*[a]. *We exhort you, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more*[b]. We are to *present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God*[c]; we are to perform moral duties, *not as pleasing men, but God—with doing good, God is well pleased*[d]; and resignation under unmerited suffering is declared *to be acceptable to God.*

Faith is defined as productive of good works; and the significant comparison to a tree which is originally our Lord's, *By their fruits ye shall know them; every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree evil fruit,* shows that faith and good works are inseparable, or rather the same thing under a different aspect, according to the station from which we view it, whether we consider virtue in its actions, or as the principle from which actions flow; in the former it is works, and in the latter faith; and this appears to me to be the only difference between the two Apostles as to justification, which I conceive it proved by the referring of both to the same persons as examples of faith and good works, and each citing the declaration of Scripture[e]. *Abraham believed in the Lord,* (that is, believed he should have a son, and through him a numerous posterity,) *and it was counted to him for righteousness.* God who sees the heart knew the reality of the Patriarch's faith, but its reality was proved to himself and to others, by his offering his son many years after, as it had been before when by faith he obeyed the call to leave his country and his father's house, and went out, not knowing whither he went, and sojourned in the land of promise as in a strange country, looking for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

[a] 1 Tim. ii. [b] 1 Thess. iv. 1. [c] Rom. xii. 1. 1 Thess. ii. 4.
[d] Heb xiii. 16. [e] Gen. xv.

ARTICLE XIII.

OF WORKS BEFORE JUSTIFICATION.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

The title of works done *before* justification, that is, before a person has entered into the Christian covenant, shows that this Article is contrasted with the preceding, which explained the nature of works that *follow after* justification, that is, the works of Christians. The works now under consideration, are the natural good works mentioned in the tenth Article. The epithet 'good' seems to have been here purposely omitted, in order to avoid the seeming contradiction which there would be in affirming that *good* works have the nature of sin. If we connect this Article with the preceding, we see the two sorts of good works, Christian and Heathen, compared, both imperfect in themselves, the former pleasing in Christ, the latter not pleasing, because seen only in themselves; neither do they make men meet or fit to receive grace, or, as the School-authors say, deserve grace of congruity; the meaning of both seems to be the same, only the first is a popular, the second the Scholastic expression. The Latin instead of School-authors has *multi*. To use Scholastic terms, a man may deserve either *ex condigno*, or *ex congruo;* that is, either of strict right, or according to moral propriety. A servant deserves his wages of *condignity;* if his life has been spent in our service, and he has served us faithfully; he deserves to be supported by us, when no longer capable of service, of *congruity:* the first he can legally claim; the second he cannot, yet his master would be blamed for withholding an equitable allowance.

These Schoolmen universally allowed, that neither before nor after the fall was man capable in himself of meriting heaven. Still they maintained, that in paradise he could live free from sin, but to deserve everlasting life required grace; he was enabled to preserve his innocence and live free from sin, but to operate upon his will in its primary determinations, and also in its ultimate acts. It was therefore to the loss of this superadded gift, and not to any depravity of his mind, that they ascribed the principal evil derivable from his fall; a loss, which by a due exertion of his innate abilities, they deemed to be retrievable. Hence sprung that offensive doctrine of human sufficiency, which in Luther's estimation extinguished the glory of the Gospel; and when applied to the sinner's conscience, taught the haughty to presume, and the humble to despair. According to this system, the favour of God in this life, and his beatific presence in the life to come, are both attainable, the former by congruous personal merit, the latter by condign, the one without the other with the assistance of grace. But though we cannot, they say, merit heaven itself without works of condignity, yet we can merit the means of obtaining it, by works of congruity. Considering the latter as introductory to the former, they stated that we may so prepare ourselves for grace as to become entitled to it congruously, not as to a debt which in strict justice God is bound to pay, but as to a grant which it is congruous in him to give, and which it would be inconsistent with his attributes to withhold. With such an opinion of man's integrity, the Scholastics, as Melancthon justly observed, conceived the influence of the Holy Spirit to be superfluous.

In the sixth Session of the Council of Trent, the seventh Canon anathematises those that say that all works done before justification, however performed, are really sins. Still these Canons seem fully to disclaim all merit in these works[a]; and they affirm that no man can be justified by works of nature, or of the law of Moses, without divine grace by Jesus Christ. The doctrine against which our Article

[a] Nihil eorum quæ justificationem præcedunt sive fides sive opera ipsam justificationis gratiam promeretur.

is levelled, is thus expressed in a note to the Rheims Testament[b]. "Such works as are done before justification, though they suffice not to salvation, yet be *acceptable preparatives* to the grace of justification, and such works preparative come of grace, also otherwise they could never *deserve* at God's hands of *congruity*, or any otherwise towards justification. From the ninth Article it appears, that men as *men* are in a state of enmity to God, and that their propensities are such as will carry them into actual sin; from the eleventh and twelfth, that *Christians* are released from that state of enmity, and are no longer under condemnation collectively, and have assistance given them for the performance of good actions, which however imperfect, are accepted as pleasing to the Supreme Being, on account of their relation to the Saviour, who has obeyed and suffered and died for them. If then men are under the divine displeasure, and even Christian virtues are only accepted through Christ, what must be the consequence with regard to heathen virtues? Must they not appear to God at least as faulty and deficient? Actions may be good in themselves, but they may proceed from unworthy motives, as almsgiving from ostentation; and if the motive be innocent, it may not be praiseworthy, or if praiseworthy, not so excellent as to found a claim for an eternal reward. And if this be the character of natural good works, they cannot even deserve grace of congruity, so that God should not do what is unfitting, though he never reward any of the works of mere natural men, and the reason is clearly asserted, because they have the nature of sin. The only question therefore to be determined is this. And it will appear that they have the nature of sin, because they do not perfectly answer to the will, or to the laws of God. If all men, as such, are concluded under sin, all their actions must partake of it; and what was said of the φρόνημα σαρκὸς, the carnal mind not being subject to the law of God must hold good. The Pelagians denied the necessity of grace for acting well; and in arguing on the doctrine, used a plea which led to the subject before us. Why should we Christians have this

[b] Acts x. 2.

assistance, when some of the Heathens, who had no such help, displayed such admirable specimens of virtue? Augustine replies: "Be it far from us to think that true virtue should be in any one, unless he be a righteous man; and let it be as far from us to think that any one is truly righteous, unless he live by faith, and who of these who would be accounted Christians, unless it be the Pelagians only, will say, that an unbeliever, a man enslaved to the devil, is righteous. Yea, though he were Fabricius, though he were Fabius, though he were Scipio, though he were Regulus, with whose names thou thinkest to terrify me, as if we were talking in the old Roman Court." He shows, that though the action may be good, it may be performed from inferior motives, not with a view to the glory of God; that though well meant, it might be strictly speaking faulty; nay, considering the nature of perfect Christian virtue, it might be called sinful. What there was in it of good might lessen future punishment, or even procure temporal rewards, but could by no means have the effect of Christian virtue, or *merit*, which even that virtue cannot do, eternal happiness. The doctrine appears harsh; but the Article does not say of such actions, as Luther and Calvin did, that these are themselves sins, only that they have the *nature* of sin; and the same has been said of Christian virtues, since even they are confessedly imperfect, and are only accepted through Christ. We by no means put them on the same footing as sins properly so called; and though we maintain, that they cannot procure for the agent admission into heaven, or a title to a knowledge of the Gospel; yet for Christ's sake salvation may be granted to those who never heard of him; and the argument of the Apostle to the Romans shows, that the heathen will be judged by the law of nature, not by a law that was never revealed to them. *When the Gentiles that have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these not having the law are a law unto themselves.* Doubtless, God will be a righteous Judge, and will require no more from them than obedience to the law, the obligations of which they knew. No work truly good can *precede* grace, because without grace no such work can be

performed. It is a sentiment often repeated by Augustine, that good works follow after and do not precede justification, and the distinction seems to be referred to in these two Articles; for in the former we have, "Albeit, that good works which follow *after* justification cannot put away our sins, yet are they acceptable to God in Christ;" and this is entitled, "Of works *before* justification."

ARTICLE XIV.

OF WORKS OF SUPEREROGATION.

Voluntary works besides, over and above, God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

That man can do more than his duty, and even transfer the benefit of such superfluous merits to the account of others who have fallen short of the services required, is so preposterous and arrogant a proposition, that one who hears it for the first time, can hardly suppose that it has ever been maintained by any reasonable person; and yet it is not only the opinion of a few individuals, but is the avowed tenet of the Church from which we withdrew, and as such has been defended by its advocates.

The proofs of the eleventh and twelfth Articles are proof of this. If we are not justified by works, we cannot be *more* than justified by them; if our Christian virtues are so imperfect as to be only accepted through Christ, we can have no merit at our disposal. The following Article asserts, that Christ alone is without sin, and that all Christians offend in many things; but if all men are sinners, they want

more than all their merit for themselves. Our Lord, in his own form of prayer, has taught us to ask our Father in heaven to *forgive us our trespasses;* we are commanded to *love God with all our heart, to do all to the glory of God,* can we do more? We are bought with a *price;* have persons who have been bought any services to give away? There is no abiding place where we may stop, as though we were already perfect, and say, I need make no further advance in virtue; we are *to press forward,* we are to *run so as to obtain, to strive to enter in at the strait gate.* The parable of the prudent and foolish virgins shows, as St. Hilary observed long ago, that the Scripture is opposed to this doctrine. The former answered, he says, that they could give none of their oil, lest they might not have enough for themselves; for no one can be helped by another's merits, because it is necessary that every one buy oil for his own lamp. But no other passage is needed, than that decisive one brought forward in the Article itself; *When ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which it was our duty to do*[b]. Do I deny myself, take up my cross, and follow Christ? it is no more than he requires[c]. I am ever *faithful unto death?* it is no more than I am commanded[d]. There can be no good thing performed by me, but what is commanded by God; and if it be God's will to command it, it is my duty to perform it. And hence in the parable of the labourers in the vineyard; he that came in at the last hour had his penny as well as he who came in at the first[e]; plainly showing, that they who had borne the heat of the day—the heat of temptations, of afflictions, of persecutions—had deserved or earned no more than the rest. Nor is it possible that any one should do more good works than are commanded, when nothing is a good work but what is commanded, and only good because commanded. These voluntary works, are they commanded or not? if commanded, they are not supererogatory, and I should sin if I do them not; and if they be not commanded, it is my duty not to perform them.

[b] Luke xvii. 10. [c] Matt. xvi. 24. [d] Rev. ii. 10.
[e] Matt. xx. 9.

But even granting for argument's sake that there can be such works, how are they to be made available to the benefit of others? This would be to annul the Gospel, and to substitute, or at least to admit into partnership with the Saviour's merits, those of his creatures. What He did He did of merit, not of duty; what all others do, they do of duty, not of merit. The Apostle tells us, that *we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to what he hath done*[f]. *That every one shall bear his own burden*[g], *and receive his own reward according to his own labour*[h]. So that the father shall not there be punished for the son's iniquity, nor the son rewarded for the father's piety. If so, what will become of these works of supererogation? It may not be generally known, that the word is derived from the Latin translation of the Bible. In the parable, the good Samaritan says to the host on consigning the wounded traveller to his care, whatsoever thou spendest over and above, προσδαπανήσεις, *supererogaveris*, I will repay thee. Here are two acts of beneficence, the one definite, the giving the two denarii, the other indefinite, and, as the text expresses it, supererogatory. The Fathers in pressing determinate and indeterminate duties, had sometimes recourse to this passage. Definite commands they compared to the two pence, and duties left to discretion to the unlimited order of the Samaritan. Hence the famous distinction of Precepts and Counsels of perfection; which words are derived from another passage of the Vulgate, where St. Paul says[i], concerning virgins I have no command, *præceptum*, of the Lord, but I give my advice, *consilium*. According to the Roman doctrine, an ordinary Christian obeys all precepts; it is only the preeminent one that aspires to counsels, or evangelical perfection. He who obeys precepts will have some reward, but he who obeys counsels, a much higher one. He who disobeys precepts will be punished, but not so he who neglects counsels. The Romanist endeavours to support this doctrine by the autho-

[f] 2 Cor. v. 10. [g] Gal. vi. 5. [h] 1 Cor. iii. 8.
[i] 1 Cor. vii. 29.

rity of Augustine, but he has nothing respecting the transfer of merit; which is impressively renounced in the following citation. "Although brethren may die for brethren, yet the blood of no martyr is poured out for the forgiveness of their brethren's sins, as that of Christ was for us." According to Mosheim, the doctrine did not prevail before the thirteenth century. It is founded upon the notion, that the Saviour had suffered more than he needed, and that his superfluous merits were laid up in a treasury for the benefit of the faithful. They proceeded to assert, that the saints had done more than their duty. They might have enjoyed this world innocently, therefore their self-denial was more than innocence, it was merit, and this merit as well as that of their Lord was the property of the Church, and who they argued, ought to dispose of it for the benefit of the faithful, but its earthly head the Pope. Now out of this fund the ordinary Christian may purchase to satisfy for what he has done less than was required of him, and so his deficiency is cured by the excess of good works in the saints. The Council of Trent avoids the term, though it calls indulgences the heavenly treasures of the Church. The Rhemish Testament speaks out. "Holy saints may, in measure of other men's necessities and deservings, as well allot unto them the *supererogation* of their *spiritual* works, as those that abound in *worldly* goods may give alms of their superfluities to them that are in necessity." It was the abuse of this doctrine that originated the Reformation. It may be said that Scripture encourages the distinction between counsels and precepts, and that this or that man may in some cases do more than he is obliged to do. Still they seem only to differ as duties determinate and indeterminate; and the difference appears to be because circumstances are so indefinite and variable, that a calculation of them must be left to the agent; but this affects not the essence of duty, nor the judgment of God. St. Paul's gratuitous preaching is cited as an instance; but he never intimates that God was on that account his debtor. Had he accepted a stipend, no *man* would have blamed him; yet if he had neglected knowingly this mode of furthering the Gospel, he might have had blame from *God*.

These counsels of perfection are generally reduced to three; voluntary poverty, perpetual chastity, and obedience; which triple vow is voluntarily taken by all members of the monastic orders. The first is founded chiefly upon our Lord's command to the rich young man, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that which thou hast;* the second upon some expressions in the Epistles of St. Paul; the third with less plausibility upon the mention made in the Epistles of the respect due to spiritual governors. A sound criticism will easily dispel any support which Scripture apparently gives to these refinements: and the distinction is completely overturned by showing, what easily admits of proof, that every man is bound both to refrain from whatever is really sinful, and to embrace all the opportunities of doing good which his situation affords, because the service of his whole life, and the full exertion of all his faculties, are due to his Creator. Every *counsel* therefore of the divine word respecting moral duty must be a *command*, and to him *who knoweth to do good and doeth it not is sin.* A man ought also to be satisfied that the counsels which he aspires to keep are really agreeable to God; or by neglecting the duties of his calling in search after a perfection not only ideal but erroneous, he may be found to have omitted what he ought to have done, while by the substitution of what was not required, he may after all his mortifications and exertions, entangle himself in difficulties beyond his strength, and thus fall short in Christian virtue of those beyond whom he aspired to soar.

ARTICLE XV.

OF CHRIST ALONE WITHOUT SIN.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as St. John saith, was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

The Church having explicitly acknowledged the corruption of human nature, now calls upon us to make a single exception in favour of our Redeemer. Yet from anxiety to maintain the tenet of original sin, the very foundation of Christianity, and to show that His case is peculiar, it is here repeated in the most unequivocal manner. The sinfulness of human nature, as derived from our fallen progenitor, is too clearly revealed to be denied by the candid student of Scripture; but it may be, and it has been said, that Baptism has placed us in a new state; and that the strong declarations that *all are under sin*, and that *there is none that doeth good*, designed for the natural man, must not be applied to the regenerate; that we are not only justified but sanctified in baptism, and that original sin is therein obliterated as well as pardoned. The Anabaptists, who sprung up in the time of Luther, maintained, that the visible Church consists of saints, or persons perfectly free from sin. The enthusiasm of its founder, Munzer, prevented him from perceiving that such a Church could never exist on earth; and these high pretensions to purity were soon painfully belied by the scandalous licentiousness into which they degenerated, which predominated in the short-lived

Commonwealth, which his followers established in Munster. There are still some who contend in the Church of Rome, and among the Wesleyan Methodists, that there is not in the believer a moral necessity of failing in keeping the divine commandments, and, that there are individuals who, sustained by divine grace, have attained to Christian perfection. In such this presumption has its foundation in the confidence entertained of the immediate controlling influence of the Holy Spirit; for it is as Christians, not as men, that they conceive that they enjoy this rare privilege. Pelagians and Socinians do not admit that the powers of human nature were injured by the fall; they therefore consistently with their principles conclude, that all are now able, as Adam was on his creation, to obey the commands of God. The Franciscans and Jesuits, to reconcile the doctrine of human perfection with the errors and defects which have been observed in the lives of the best of men, make a distinction between *mortal* and *venial* sins. By the former they understand the flagrant transgressions of the law of God, which imply such deliberate wickedness as to deserve final condemnation; and from these they consider that every one into whom the grace of God has been infused at his first justification at baptism, as completely preserved. By venial sins they understand both those sudden emotions of passion and inordinate desire, which so long as they are restrained from going forth into action, are regarded by them as the constitutional infirmities of human nature; and also those actions which are comparatively trifling transgressions, or are attended with alleviating circumstances. It was meant by calling such sins venial, either that they deserve no punishment, or are expiated by sufferings on earth and in purgatory; and it was understood that when the sins of this kind, into which it is admitted that a saint may fall, are set overagainst his uninterrupted obedience to all the great commandments and the supereminent excellence of his good works, his character, upon the whole, is entitled to be accounted perfect. On the other hand, the Dominicans and Jansenists had learnt from Augustine to maintain, "That there are divine precepts which good men, notwithstanding

their desire to observe them, are nevertheless unable to obey, nor has God given them the measure of grace necessary to render them capable of such obedience. This is one of the five propositions in Jansenius's Augustinus, in which folio volume he gives a full report of the sentiments of that eminent Father, which the Jesuits had sufficient influence to get condemned by the Pope. All Protestants who hold the system which Calvin also learned from Augustine say, that in this life perfection is not attainable, and that sanctification, though originating in the operations of the Holy Spirit, continues to be incomplete. Thus the Westminster Confession of Faith declares, that "our best works, as they are wrought by us, are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection, that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment; but that He, looking upon believers in his Son, is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere, although accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections." Our own Church evidently maintains the same doctrine; the ninth Article affirms, that the infection of nature doth remain, yea in the regenerate; and this, that although baptized and born again in Christ, yet we offend, that is, fail in many things; and that *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;* a position borne out by universal experience, and which is here supported by the authority of St. James and St. John, whom the context in their Epistles shows to be speaking of genuine Christians. The New Testament describes a continual struggle between the new principle of infused holiness and original corruption. The most striking passage of this kind is in the seventh chapter of Romans, in which Calvinists and other divines consider the Apostle as speaking from his own Christian experience; there are others who suppose that he here assumes the character of an unregenerate person, in which case the expressions would mark the combat between appetite and conscience. Without referring to a contested passage, we have an undeniable one equally strong in the Galatians[k]: *The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh: and these*

[k] Gal. v. 17.

are contrary the one to the other, so that ye (that must be Christian converts) *cannot do the things which ye would.* It appears too, that the general strain of Scripture—the image of a warfare, under which it describes the Christian life—the fear and circumspection which it enjoins, and the daily prayer for forgiveness, which our Lord directs his followers to offer, are all in favour of the imperfection of sanctification. To these arguments from Scripture it may be added, that this doctrine corresponds with the circumstances of man, who is surrounded with temptations to evil, and retains in a greater or less degree a propensity to yield to them; and with the experience of the best Christians, who not only feel many infirmities, but acknowledge, that after all their exertions, they fall very far short of performing the whole of their duty. To a doctrine thus supported, it is not enough to oppose reasonings drawn from the power and holiness of God, the intention of the death of Christ, and the gift of the Spirit. Every passage of Scripture therefore which appears to contradict it, must receive such an interpretation as will render Scripture consistent with itself. When therefore we read[1], *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin*, and, *he cannot sin because he is born of God*, we understand the Apostle to mean, not that sin is never committed by those who are born of God, for in the same Epistle he writes, *if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;* but that no child of God is an habitual and willing sinner. When we meet with exhortations to perfection, and when we read of persons walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameless, we understand it of a comparative perfection; that is, of sincerity of obedience, hatred of sin, and a wish and endeavour to conform in all things to the divine law. Augustine propounds this question, Whether there could ever have been, or ever shall be, any of the children of men perfectly free from sin? and his answer is, that there never was and never will be such an one, beside the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. His twofold nature, and the very object for which he came into the world,

[1] John iii. 9.

preclude the supposition of his resembling us in this particular. The Saviour of mankind must not only be free from positive sin, but from the omission of any duty; for if he had failed in the least conceivable degree, and been in his human nature less than perfect, he would himself have required an atonement for sin. Of course, on that supposition, he could never have removed the guilt of it from us. The Apostle to the Hebrews accordingly declares, that the victim must be *without spot,* (*a lamb without blemish and without spot,* in the language of St. Peter[m];) and that *such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, who needed not,* like the high priests under the Mosaic dispensation, *to offer up a sacrifice for his own sins, and then for those of the people.* This perfect holiness was indispensable for the fulfilment of his priesthood in both its branches; first, his offering up himself as a victim, and secondly, his continual intercession with his Father. It is also of the highest importance, as the means of assisting us in the endeavour to obey God's commands, by the exhibition of a perfect example in the various relations and duties of life. The fact of his complete exemption from sin, is maintained by the sacred writers: thus St. Peter declares, that *he did no sin,* and that *guile was not found in his mouth:* St. John, that *in him was no sin:* St. Paul, that *he knew not sin.* He himself says, *the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me:* and his Father bore this testimony to him from heaven, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Pilate's repeated examination, terminated with this public declaration, *I find no fault in this man.* Even Judas, who would willingly have relieved the agonies of conscience by a recollection of the least fault, declared, that he had sinned in betraying *innocent blood.* And when Jesus himself appealed to his enemies, *Which of you convicteth me of sin,* they did not venture to object any thing. Correspondent with this testimony is that of all antiquity. And we learn from Origen, that neither Jew or Pagan had ever brought forward any charge against him. That we was free from actual

[m] 1 Peter i. 19. Heb. vii. 26.

transgressions, no Christian will deny; but we also maintain, in opposition to the late Mr. Irving, that his nature was free from the taint of original sin. In order that his human nature might be pure, he was not born in the ordinary way, but in one peculiar to himself, having no earthly father, but made "man of the substance of his Mother," through the creative energy of the Holy Spirit; and we are expressly informed, that he took upon him not the reality, but only the likeness, of sinful flesh[n]. And this immaculate conception, which is recorded in all Creeds, the exclusive prerogative of *the seed of the woman*, is impiously claimed by the modern Romanists for his Virgin Mother. I say advisedly, impiously; for not content with assuming that she never committed the least even venial sin, they contradict her own confession, in her inspired hymn, that she required a Saviour; a confession which is denied by those divines who assert, that she was created like Eve in original righteousness. They cannot on this tenet appeal to the Fathers, since Augustine and Bernard, who alone consider the subject, argue against it. It is a novelty of the Scholastic age; but though encouraged by Popes, and by the service for the festival of the Conception, formally confirmed in 1472, it remained no more than a pious opinion. It was much discussed in Spain, between the Franciscans and the Dominicans, and the nation received it so enthusiastically, that the kings Philip the third and fourth were for years soliciting a Bull in its favour. The Popes, however, prudently evaded their importunity: and it was reserved for the reigning Pontiff to complete, as it appears to me, this mystery of iniquity. Long has the Roman Church blasphemously transferred to this humble handmaid of the Lord her Son's office of forgiveness, making him the source of justice and her of mercy; and declaring her to be Queen of heaven. A papal rescript has now exalted her above human nature, as if it were meant to justify those who stigmatize the Roman faith as the religion of Mary.

[n] Rom. viii. 3.

ARTICLE XVI.

OF SIN AFTER BAPTISM.

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may rise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

All who believe that "the infection of sin doth remain even in the regenerate," and will break forth sometimes into outward acts, and that, in the Apostle's language, *we all offend in many things*, that is, an immense majority of Christians, must adopt this Article as incontrovertible. Yet there have been, and there still are, those who maintain, that "they can sin as long as they live here:" and certainly such alone can reasonably "deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent." For any others "to deny the grant of repentance to such as fall into sin after baptism," is virtually to abrogate the Gospel, which assures us, that the best even of believers cannot endure the strict judgment of the all-searching Deity, and therefore offers eternal life, not as the reward of perfect obedience, but on the only conditions which we can fulfil, repentance and faith. We must not however misrepresent or exaggerate the opinions of those from whom we differ. We are only considering sin *after baptism*. Such declarations then as, *He is willing that none should perish, but that all should come to repentance*, and that *repentance and remission of sins should be preached in the name of Christ to all nations*, are not to the purpose, as our opponents will readily allow that the repentance of the unregenerate will be accepted. They only maintain, that it is the grace of God, not human strength, that will enable

them to persevere in an undeviating obedience; and that, to adopt the language of Scripture, it is impossible for those who were *once enlightened*, (that is, baptized,) *and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, if they shall fall away and sin wilfully, after they have received the knowledge of the truth, to renew them again unto repentance.* Nor would they include under their condemnation the negligences and ignorances, from which we pray to be delivered in the Liturgy, but deliberate presumptuous transgressions of the divine law, or, as it is expressed in the Article, *deadly* sin, *willingly* committed. The Roman division of sin into deadly and venial is strongly condemned by Protestants; and certainly with reason, when connected with the conclusion, that venial or pardonable sins deserve only temporal punishment, and may be expiated by penance, or a transfer of the supererogatory merit of the saints; for no sin not repented of can be venial. Every transgression of God's law exposes the sinner to his wrath; and as in the violation even of the least commandment, His will is disobeyed, His authority disregarded, whoever, as St. James argues, *offends in one point is guilty of all.* Still common sense teaches us, that the Stoic errs when he puts all offences upon the same level, and that there must be shades of difference in moral turpitude, even in the commission of the same offence, according to the religious education, the constitutional tendency, or the unfavourable or favourable circumstances of the individuals concerned. Still more apparent is it, that the sins into which we may fall from infirmity under sudden temptation, cannot leave so deep a stain of guilt as deliberate ones planned and committed against our judgment, when we have time and opportunity to consider their nature and consequences, and we might fly from, or at least arm ourselves against the temptation. Human ethics, and courts of justice, have accordingly acknowledged so obvious a truth. Thus a broad distinction has been always made in estimating the guilt and consequently the punishment of one who has deliberately meditated a murder, and of another who has killed a man in the heat and frenzy, as it were, of passion. And it is recognised in the nineteenth Psalm, *Cleanse*

thou me from secret faults; and, *keep back thy servant from presumptuous sins, let them not have dominion over me.* Our Church then is, I conceive, justified in retaining the distinction when properly understood, a distinction which appears not only in this Article, but in the petition of the Litany, "From fornication and all other *deadly sin*, Good Lord, deliver us."

This rigid doctrine was first taught by the Novatians, who denied absolution not only to such as apostatised in times of persecution, but to such as had been guilty of any notorious sin. It was revived at the Reformation by the Anabaptists in Germany, and by the Brownists in our own country. To Novatian, his contemporary, Cyprian answers: "I wonder that there are some so obstinate as to suppose, that pardon should be denied to penitents, when it is written, *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works*[o]." The proverb which says, *a just man falleth seven times, and riseth up again*[p], shows that he may depart from grace given and fall into sin, and by the same grace, as the Article declares, we may arise again and amend our lives. Now if he rise again, it must be by repentance. And that the repentance of believers will be accepted by our merciful Father in Heaven, we know from our Lord, who has taught us to pray for forgiveness of sins, which he assures us will be granted if we forgive one another; and his beloved disciple declares, that if we (evidently from the context, baptized believers) *acknowledge our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* The denial and the recovery of Peter ought to convince and silence all who doubt the efficacy of repentance; and the Apostles authorize, and indeed enjoin, the forgiveness of penitents, and their restoration to Church communion. Thus St. James writes, *if any one err from the truth, and one convert him, he that converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death.* St. Jude exhorts us to have *compassion upon some, making a difference; and to save others with fear, plucking them out of the fire.* And

[o] Rev. ii. 5. [p] Prov. xxiv. 16.

St. Paul admonishes Timothy to *instruct in meekness those that oppose themselves, if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth, that they may recover themselves from the snare of the devil.* And he acted upon this principle, when he ordered the Church of Corinth to receive back into their communion, on repentance, one who had clearly been guilty of deadly sin, and whom they had by his own previous directions delivered over unto Satan. He gives as the reason, *lest he should be swallowed up by overmuch sorrow;* and this in the Epistle to the Galatians he had laid down as a general rule; *If any one is overtaken in a fault, ye who are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted*[q].

Against texts so positive, it would be impossible to maintain the doctrine we are now combating, if others could not be brought forward of an opposite character. One of these in the Epistle to the Hebrews has been already cited; and in a later part of the same Epistle[r] it is declared, that *if we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation.* St. John also[s] speaks of *a sin unto death, for which prayer is not to be made;* and our Lord, while he tells us that all manner of sin and blasphemy is pardonable, excepts the sin against the Holy Ghost. That sin we know was ascribing the miracles wrought by the Holy Spirit to the Devil, which is reviling the third Person of the Trinity, from whom alone our own sanctification can proceed, and by whom alone it can be sustained. And the reason of this exception seems to be, not because there is not a sufficiency of merit in Christ to atone even for this calumny, or of mercy in God the Father to forgive it; but because they who commit it are of so refractory and incorrigible a disposition, that they resist the Holy Spirit till God withdraws his grace, ceasing to strive with them; so that deserted of God, they continue finally impenitent, and become incapable of forgiveness, both *in this world, and that which is to come.* There is unques-

[q] Gal. vi. 1. [r] Heb. x. 26. [s] 1 John v. 16.

tionably a difference in point of conviction between reading of miracles and seeing them with our own eyes; and in proportion to the strength of the evidence, must be the guilt of those who reject Christianity. This blasphemy against the Holy Ghost in its full extent could only be committed by the generation who witnessed the miracles of our Lord and his Apostles. A profane scoffing at religion now, its rejection by those who have been baptized, and the wilful misrepresentation of it, is certainly *resisting and doing despite* to the Spirit; but how far it approaches towards the unpardonable offence, I presume not to ascertain. In King Edward's Articles, there was one explanatory of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which is declared to be committed when any man, out of malice and hardness of heart, doth wilfully reproach and persecute in an hostile manner the truth of God's word manifestly made known to him. It is certainly only sin of this nature that can be the one denounced by our Lord or his Apostles; for the persons, whom the writer to the Hebrews describes as incapable of being renewed again unto repentance, had renounced the faith, since they are branded with the name of adversaries; and are said *to crucify the Son of God afresh, to trample him under foot, and to count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing.* These men it is impossible to renew while they continue in their apostasy, because they have cast off faith, their only remedy; consequently they are not within the covenant, nor under the influence of grace, having *denied the Lord who bought them.* But the case is far otherwise with those who are engaged in a course of sin, and yet have not renounced Christianity. There is an essential difference between walking unworthy of the Christian profession, and being open and avowed opponents; between conduct unbecoming the Gospel, and principles that avowedly overthrow it. The Epistle to the Hebrews, to prove the superiority of the Christian to the Levitical institution, affirms, that *through Christ is preached forgiveness of sins, and that by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses.* Now if the former allowed of

sacrifices for the expiation of involuntary sins, such as proceeded from ignorance and infirmity, yet made not the same provision for wilful and deliberate sins, it follows, that by the evangelical covenant even these are capable of pardon in believers. That we are right in restricting the sin against the Holy Ghost which is unpardonable to this one offence, may further be shown from the instance of Simon Magus, which seems to approach to it as nearly as possible; yet we know that it was not of this deadly nature, for the Apostle Peter says, even to him whom he declared to be in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity, *Repent of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee.*

LECTURE XIII.

ARTICLE XVII.

OF PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: so, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust

them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

HITHERTO our way has been straight before us, for we have had to exhibit, generally speaking, only the grand and leading doctrines of Christianity, which it has been easy to establish to the conviction of all who defer to the authority of Scripture, and allow of no other judge of controversies. We have considered man as fallen from original righteousness, and unable to recover himself from sin, or from its just penalty, eternal punishment, or to render himself worthy of forgiveness. We have seen also, that the mercy of God the Father has provided sufficient satisfaction to his justice by the death of his beloved Son, who unites for that purpose out of his own free will, the natures of the offended and offending parties, and that the Holy Spirit applies this remedy, by working in man, through his regenerating grace, *a fitness* for the eternal happiness, to which faith in the Redeemer's sacrifice *entitles* him.

That Saviour's last commission to his disciples was, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;* but the remedy, though devised by the wisdom of the Almighty, is not commensurate with the disease; for not to perplex ourselves with speculations concerning the heathen, whom these glad tidings have never reached, we know from Scripture that all professors of Christianity will not be saved, but that some of them will go into everlasting punishment. What then is the cause of the difference between those that enter *into the joy of their Lord*, and those whom he will banish from his presence into everlasting fire? Why are some exposed to greater temptations, or have some more grace to resist them than others? These are questions which will unavoidably occur to every one who thinks upon the subject; and they are questions to which no one has yet been able to

give an answer in all respects satisfactory. Here then the difficulty begins, and here pious believers, of whose faith and ultimate salvation we cannot reasonably doubt, have come to opposite conclusions, both appealing, and with plausibility, to Scripture as supporting their views, and both sincerely actuated by the desire of vindicating the ways of God to man. Each system has its strong and weak points, and it will be easier to show the defects of either, than to establish the other. The subject, however, is one that cannot be altogether omitted in any systematic view of Theology; but it should be approached with caution and reverence; and in considering it, we should never lose our tempers, nor charge, as is often done, the advocates of the opposite opinion with blasphemy and unworthy conceptions of the Deity, because we conceive such to be the result of their scheme, since, however mistaken, they seek, perhaps as sincerely and honestly, if more ignorantly than ourselves, the glory of God.

Our Article is original, for Predestination is altogether omitted in the Augsburg Confession, to which on other doctrines our reformers are so largely indebted. Luther, however, had expressed himself quite as strongly as Calvin, though not in so systematic manner; and Melancthon had even at first expressed himself in his Common Places in an objectionable manner, by opposing not *free will*, in the theological sense of that term, but *free agency;* maintaining, that the Scriptures take away liberty from our wills by the necessity of Predestination. But in the second class of editions, which are much enlarged upon most topics, he censures Valla, whom he had formerly defended, for improperly taking away liberty from the human will. Melancthon has been represented as having changed his opinions: but in a familiar letter to Brentius, he says, I avoided the long and inextricable question of Predestination, for I have no wish to entangle men's consciences in these endless labyrinths. He retained to the last the opinions of the other reformers, saying expressly, that though he speaks less harshly and less like a Stoic, he knows that Luther substantially agrees with him. To Calvin he says, I am satisfied our views agree, only mine

are stated in a less refined manner: and Calvin writes of him, that his design was only to recall men from a daring and perverse curiosity, which would break through into the secret counsels of the Most High, to discover in them their election. The reason of the silence of the Augsburg Confession on these points seems to be, that Predestination and Election had not been brought under discussion, being as it were doctrines which the Roman Catholics had inherited from Augustine. This appeared in the Council of Trent; for its historians, Father Paul, whom Bossuet calls a Calvinist in a friar's frock, and Dupin, testify that nothing was found worthy of censure on this subject in the writings of Luther, or in the Confession of Augsburg, or the Apologies. And though opinions were diverse, the most esteemed divines among them thought that even the high supralapsarian doctrine was catholic, because the good school-writers, Aquinas, Scotus, and others, did so think[a].

We know that Bradford and Carless, and others, discussed the subject when in prison for heresy under Mary, and dispersed their writings abroad. Probably the subject had excited such an interest in Edward's reign, that our reformers might be forced to draw up the seventeenth Article; and we learn from the Reformatio Legum, that many at that time used the plea of Predestination as an excuse for their immoral lives. Bishop Hooper expresses himself strongly, as to the necessity of keeping as close as possible to Scripture on such a tenet; and certainly this idea has been carefully followed out by our Article, the first paragraph of which is little more than a series of texts carefully arranged, and the framers of it dismiss the subject as soon as they can, adding cautions against its abuse. It is drawn up with such admirable moderation, that while it maintains (at least as it appears to me, upon a long, deliberate, and I trust an impartial examination) the opinion which was first brought prominently forward by Augustine, and continued to be till after the Reformation the received doctrine of the Western Church, it carefully avoids the high supralapsarian Calvinism of Beza, and other eminent con-

[a] Scott's Continuation of Milner's History, vol. ii. ch. 12, 13.

tinental Protestants, and concludes with a clause concerning God's general promises and will, under which the Arminian may without scruple sign his adherence to it. "It is not to be denied," says Bishop Burnet, "but that the Article seems to be framed according to St. Austin's doctrine, and that the Calvinists have less occasion than the Remonstrants or Arminians for scruple, since it doth seem more plainly to favour them." Such is the candid acknowledgment of a Prelate, who had been brought up a Calvinist, but tells us in the preface to his Exposition, that he follows the doctrine of the Greek Church, from which St. Austin departed. This testimony is of the more importance in the present day, as of late years it has been the fashion of our Arminian Divines, that is, of a vast majority of the Ministers of the Church of England, to claim the Article not merely as neutral, but as even Anti-Calvinistic; a position which must seem absurd to all who know that before the time of Archbishop Laud, all our divines were more or less Calvinistical; that a deputation of them were at the Synod of Dort, and that during that period, Calvin's Institutes was the book chiefly recommended to the candidates for Holy Orders. A Calvinistic sense is put upon this Article by Rogers, who, as I have before observed, wrote the first Exposition upon them in 1607, before the disputes upon this subject arose, only forty-five years after they had been enacted, and dedicated them to Bancroft, the then Archbishop of Canterbury. "In the Scripture," he writes, "we read of man's predestination, the cause *efficient* to be the everlasting purpose of God; the cause *formal*, God's infinite mercy and goodness; I will shew mercy to whom I will shew mercy[b]; the cause *material* the blood of Christ; the cause *final* or end, why, both God the Father hath loved, and Christ for his elect hath suffered, is the glory of God and the salvation of man. And this do all the Churches militant and reformed with a sweet consent testify and acknowledge. Hereby is discovered the impiety of those men who think, 1. that man doth make himself eligible for the kingdom of Heaven by his own good works; and, 2. that God

[b] Exodus xxxiii. 12. Rom ix. 15.

beheld in every man whether he would use his grace well, and believe the Gospel or no; and as he saw a man affected, so did he predestinate, choose, or refuse him." The late Bishop of Winchester in his Exposition introduces a passage from Waterland, who strongly approves of the distinction made by Plaifere, of two kinds of Predestination, a distinction not likely to be made in so short an Article; and a mode of cutting the knot instead of untying it, which certainly would not occur to any reader but one prejudiced against Augustine's doctrine, and therefore predetermined to find some other meaning in the Article. I have no doubt with other Expositors that the difference is to be sought not in two *kinds* of Predestination, but in the different disposition with which "godly persons, and carnal and curious ones lacking the spirit of Christ," contemplate the *same* divine decrees. According to Burnet, the three cautions added intimate that St. Austin's doctrine was designed to be settled by the Article; for the danger of men's having the sentence of God's predestination always before their eyes belongs only to that side; and the other two, of taking God's promises in the sense in which they are set forth in holy Scripture, and of following the declared will of God, relate to the same opinion. Theological hatred has unhappily become a proverb; and on no subject of controversy has been shown among Protestants, and even among members of the same Church, more intemperance and more uncharitable imputation of bad motives and blasphemous conclusions than on this, as if zeal grew furious and bitter and dogmatical in proportion to ignorance. We may learn in this instance a lesson from the Church from which we have separated, in which Dominicans and Jesuits bear with one another, though they advocate the same contradictory systems to which we give the name of Calvinism and Arminianism, and which neither the Council of Trent nor the Pope have ever ventured to decide. "We of this Church," says Burnet, "are very happy in this respect, we have all along been much divided, and once almost broken to pieces, while we disputed concerning these matters; but now we are much happier;

for though we know one another's opinions, we live not only united in the same worship, but in great friendship with those of other persuasions; and the boldness of some among us, who have reflected in sermons or otherwise on those who hold Calvin's system, has been much blamed and often censured by those, who, though they hold the same opinions with them, are yet both more charitable in their thoughts, and more discreet in their expressions." In this respect there has been of late years a melancholy change, but I think that there is before us a more cheering prospect, and a growing desire among those who differ to avoid unprofitable controversies, and as they cannot attain to unity of opinion, to strive to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace and mutual love.

The comparative unimportance of this subject should also teach us moderation and forbearance. For it is not the vital doctrines of atonement through the sacrifice of a Saviour both God and man, and of a renewal to the divine image through the Holy Spirit, which are in discussion; doctrines a practical and influential belief in which is essential to genuine Christianity; but concerning the application of a remedy for a lost world, and why of those to whom the same Gospel is proclaimed, some receive it and become the sons of God, while others reject or disobey it. The first are revealed with a clearness which will render all who refuse to credit them inexcusable; and a belief in them is, to all to whom they are made known, an indispensable condition of salvation. But though it is necessary that we should work out our own salvation, it cannot be necessary for us to know why some succeed in this great work, while others fail; and whatever may be the cause in the Divine Mind of election, and whatever probabilities we may deduce from our growth in grace, the judgment day alone will with certainty reveal who are the elect. Upon the subject of the divine decrees then we may be allowed to differ. Both sides argue plausibly, and each seems able to show that the Scripture is on his side, while he keeps out of sight the passages that apparently favour the other view. "It is no wonder then," to use the words of Burnet, "if education,

the constant attending more to the difficulties of the one side than of the other, and a temper some way proportioned to it, does fix men very steadily to either the one or the other persuasion; both sides have their difficulties, so it will be natural to choose that side where the difficulties are least felt; but it is plain there is no reason for either of them to despise the other, since the arguments of both are far from being contemptible. Both sides seem zealous for God, both lay down general maxims that can hardly be disputed, and both argue justly from their first principles. The source of both opinions is the different idea of the Deity, the one looking chiefly to his *sovereignty*, the other to his *benevolence*, and both ideas are true, men only differing in the conclusions which they draw from them. Here are the clearest grounds imaginable for a mutual forbearance, for not judging men imperiously, nor censuring them severely upon either side. "And those," he adds from experience, "who have at different times of their lives been of both opinions, and who upon the evidence of reason, as it has appeared to them, have changed their persuasions, can speak more affirmatively here, for they know that in great sincerity of heart they have thought both ways. Each side has some practical advantages and some peculiar temptations; the common fault is, that both are too apt to charge each other with the consequences their adversaries draw from their tenets, and both sides too often, in order to represent the contrary opinion as absurd, bring in the Deity himself in a manner not only unbecoming, but bordering upon blasphemy." The Calvinist is tempted to a false security and sloth, the Arminian to trust too much to himself and too little to God; so equally may a man of calm temper and of moderate thoughts balance the matter, and so unreasonable is it to give way to a positive and dictating temper in this point. He thus concludes his statement; "I leave the choice as free to my readers as the Church has done. Ill then would it become me to pronounce dogmatically my judgment, and to presume to decide between Calvinist and Arminian. The veil that covers the divine decrees will never be entirely raised by any uninspired man; and even the Apostle, whose language our Article adopts

in contemplating the mystery of election, closes the subject with an acknowledgment, that it is a depth unfathomable by our finite intellects. *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out*[c]!" Motives for forbearance may be found in the consideration, that the Predestinarian controversy is one of *natural* religion, and that it divides *Mahometans* as well as *Christians, Roman Catholics* as well as *Protestants;* and that while Calvinism can boast of many names illustrious for learning, wisdom, and piety, Arminianism has to oppose to them high and distinguished champions. If in our own Church the one side glories in Hooker and Usher, South, Beveridge, Hopkins, and Leighton, the other is no less proud of Tillotson, Taylor, and Barrow. Let Calvinists and Arminians then bear with each other in charity till they know even as they are known; let us, with Paul, love all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; and never forget, that whatever may be the *cause* of election, whether *foreseen merit*, or the mere pleasure of the Almighty, the *fact* of election, (since the divine decrees are not revealed,) in our own case or that of others, can only be *presumed* from a holy and virtuous life, and the evidence of course will be clear in proportion to our growth in grace; for election, we should remember, (and if we do, it will remove much of the dislike of the doctrine which is commonly entertained,) is not described as of *persons* but of *characters*, and that we are not elected to eternal life nakedly and abstractedly of our conduct, but predestined *to be conformed to the image of Christ*, that is, to holiness, as the *means* without which we shall never attain the *end*, eternal life. This golden chain, which commencing in election, terminates in glory, has sanctification for its intermediate and connecting link; for though not mentioned there by the Apostle, it is in the preceding verses, in which he tells us, that *the called according to God's purpose* are those *who love him*, and that they *who have not the spirit of God, are none of his.*

Independently of the angry and bitter spirit which per-

[c] Rom. xi. 33.

vades too many defences of Calvinism and Arminianism, they are often written in confutation of particular treatises, and are therefore only partially understood by those who have not read the works to which they are replies. Such authors are very apt to misrepresent their adversaries, to introduce extraneous matter, and to charge the other party with conclusions which they deny. The best course I can take is to lay before you a calm dispassionate statement of the different systems. This has been done already by Burnet, and his is generally considered as a fair one; but the late Dr. Hill, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's, says, that it is done with some degree of confusion, and with an impartiality more apparent than real. Notwithstanding, the Bishop's Exposition is well worth reading, and he gives the reasonings and the principal scriptural passages on which both parties build. I extract from Calamy's Memoirs of his own life, the following interesting narrative[d]. "Among other discourse, Bishop Burnet asked me what apprehensions we Dissenters commonly had of his Exposition of the Articles, particularly of the seventeenth, which had caused him a great deal of pains. I replied, that as to things of that nature, there was a variety of sentiments among those out of the Establishment, as well as those under it. He said he was very sensible of it, but as he knew that those whom I was most conversant with were the more moderate sort of Dissenters, he was particularly desirous to know their sentiments. I told his Lordship, that as for them, though they were very thankful to him for his pains and his charity, yet upon the head of Predestination, which he had so laboured, they could not but be surprised to find, that when he had been at such pains nicely to state the *two extremes*, he should quite overlook the *middle way*, where Truth commonly lies. He told me the true reason of that was, because he could not see how that called the middle way differed from one of the extremes. I freely told him, that this seemed the more strange to many of us, because the learned Davenant, one of his Lordship's predecessors in the see of Sarum, had not

[d] Vol. i. p. 469.

only vigorously asserted and defended that middle way in the Synod of Dort, in opposition to Remonstrants and Supralapsarians, but had also been at no small pains to support it in several of his writings, of which his Lordship took not the least notice. This led to a pretty close discourse of two hours length, in which he endeavoured to convince me, that such as declared for the middle way must, at last when pressed, fall into the Arminian scheme."

This third opinion, which is sometimes called Baxterianism, from the celebrated non-conformist, is the one most satisfactory to myself, since it avoids the difficulties which beset the two extremes; and it appears to me, though it may be hard to maintain it against a subtle disputant, to be the nearest to the truth, because while it resolves salvation into the free unmerited grace of God, it makes man inexcusable, since if he perishes, it is only from a *moral* not a *natural* inability to avail himself of the salvation, which though it will only be accepted by the elect, has been offered to all. It is, I conceive, the doctrine of our own Church, which it cannot be denied teaches at the same time, election in Christ, and *universal* redemption. It has thus been expressed by our great Poet[e].

> Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will;
> Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
> Freely vouchsafed: once more I will renew
> His lapsed powers, though forfeit, and enthralled
> By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
> Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
> On *even* ground against his mortal foe;
> By me upheld, that he may know how frail
> His fallen condition is, and to me owe
> All his deliverance, and to none but me.
> Some I have chosen of *peculiar grace*,
> *Elect above the rest;* such is my will:
> The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned
> Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
> The incensed Deity, while offered grace
> Invites: for I will clear their senses dark,
> What may *suffice;* and soften stony hearts
> To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.

[e] Paradise Lost, book iii. 172.

To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
And I will place within them as a guide,
My umpire, Conscience; whom if they will hear,
Light after light, well used, they shall attain,
And, to the end persisting, safe arrive.
This my long sufferance and my day of grace,
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And *none but such* from mercy I exclude.

As it is unquestionably the doctrine of Scripture, that none partake of the salvation which the Gospel was given to afford but those who repent, believe, and obey it; we are entitled to say, that the remedy offered is connected with a certain character of mind. But as many, it is plain, of those who have every opportunity of believing in Christ either reject Christianity, or show by their conduct that they have not saving faith, we are led to consider the extent and application of the remedy—*universal* or *particular* redemption; that is, whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect, that is, for those who shall finally be saved by him. The latter is the Calvinistic scheme, while our formularies unequivocally affirm that the Saviour died for all men. The Calvinist, however, does not deny the *sufficiency* of the sacrifice for all, only that for some secret reason it was not designed to be universal.

I shall begin with the Arminian statement.

"Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, died for all men, and for every individual; but we do not mean," says Whitby, one of its ablest defenders, "that he hath purchased actual reconciliation for all, this being in effect to say, that he procured an actual remission of sins to unbelievers, and actually reconciled God to the impenitent and disobedient, which is impossible. He only by his death has put all men into the capacity of being pardoned and justified, upon their turning to God, and having faith in Christ, his death having rendered it consistent with the justice and wisdom of God, and with the honour of his majesty, and with the

ends of government, to pardon the penitent believer." According to this doctrine, the death of Christ is an universal remedy for the condition in which the whole posterity of Adam is involved by sin; it removes the obstacles opposed to their deliverance, by the justice and holiness of the Deity; it puts all into a condition in which they may be saved, and it leaves their actual salvation to depend upon their faith. In this way the remedy may be much more extensive than the application of it. But even though the offer of pardon were rejected by all, it would not follow that the atonement was unnecessary, for the offer could not have been given without it, and whatever reception the Gospel may meet with, the love of God is equally conspicuous in having provided a method by which he may enter into a new covenant with all who have sinned. He has therefore an *antecedent* will to save all, but as he foresaw before the foundation of the world, the use which all would make of the means provided for them in Christ, he chose some upon account of, and through Christ upon a *foresight of their faith and good works*, to eternal life. He has therefore a *consequent* will to save only such as deserve it, and to leave the rest to merited condemnation. Thus the strongest motives are held forth to make *our calling and election sure*; the remedy is limited only by the fault of those to whom it is offered, and divine justice is exhibited by giving eternal life to those who make a proper use of the means. The Arminians, however, acknowledge the inability of our own depraved nature, and therefore they believe that the grace purchased by Christ restores all men to a situation in which they may do those works which are well-pleasing to God. This grace is called *common*, because of some measure of it no man is supposed to be destitute; it accompanies the light of nature in heathen countries, as well as the preaching of the Gospel in Christian, and every one who improves the measure given him, is thereby prepared for more. Those who are not wanting to themselves, are certainly conducted to such degrees as produce Faith and Repentance, and all these receive subsequent and cooperating grace. They accordingly consider the efficacy of grace to depend

upon the reception it meets with. It is from the event alone that it is to be distinguished as effectual or ineffectual; and the same grace being given, the difference of the effect must be ascribed to the difference of the characters of those by whom it is received. The operation of the Holy Spirit suggesting good thoughts and inspiring good desires, is called *moral Suasion;* but this counsel may be rejected, the grace of God may be resisted, and the believer after he has been renewed, may return to the habitual practice of sin, and finally fail of attaining salvation.

The system is allowed by Dr. Hill, an able and candid Calvinist, in his Lectures on Divinity, to appear upon a general view most satisfying to a pious and benevolent mind. Pardon procured by the death of Christ for *all* that repent and believe, when conjoined with an administration of the means of grace *sufficient* to bring all to repentance and faith, forms a remedy suited to the extent of the disease, a remedy from which none are excluded by any circumstance foreign to themselves; and which if it does not in the end deliver all from the evils of sin, fails not from any defect in its own nature, or any partiality in the Being from whom it proceeds, but purely through the obstinacy and perverseness of those to whom it is offered. But while this scheme, he continues, appears to derive from its correspondence with our notions of the goodness and justice of God the strongest internal recommendation, it is found to labour under these three difficulties.

1. The supposition of grace sufficient to bring all to repentance and faith, appears to be contradicted by facts.

2. This scheme resolves our salvation into something independent of grace.

3. And it seems to imply a failure in the purpose of the *Almighty,* which is not easily reconciled with our notions of his *Sovereignty.*

The Calvinist, proceeding from the wisdom and power of God, conceives that he could have no intention of saving all mankind, since many will not be saved. Maintaining, that *He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will,* he dwells upon such texts as, *I lay down my life for the sheep,*

that seem to favour *particular* redemption, while those that describe the Saviour as dying for all men, they explain as meaning that the benefit of his death is not limited to any nation, but was designed for persons of all countries, ages, conditions, and characters. The characteristic feature of this system is the entire dependence of the creature upon the Creator. God chose out of the whole body of mankind, whom he viewed in his eternal decree as involved in guilt and misery, certain persons, therefore called the Elect, whose names are known to him, and whose number is unchangeably fixed. Jesus Christ undertook to be their Saviour, and God gave them to him to be redeemed by his blood, to be called by the Holy Spirit, and finally to be brought to everlasting glory. As all the children of Adam were involved in the same guilt and misery, these persons had no merits that *could be foreseen*, to render them more worthy than others, and therefore the decree is called *absolute*, by which is meant, that it arose entirely from the good pleasure of God, because the faith and good works of the Elect are the *effect* (not the *cause*, as the Arminians hold) of their election. The *grace* of the Calvinist is very different from *moral suasion*. Being conferred in execution of an *unchangeable* decree, it cannot fail of attaining its purpose; and being the action of the Creator upon the mind of the creature, it is able to surmount all the opposition and resistance which arises from the corruption of human nature. This grace, which forms the character connected with salvation, is of course confined to the *elect*, and is seldom exerted without the use of means. It enlightens the understanding, and it inclines the will to follow its dictates, so that the renewed mind pursues a certain line of conduct *because it is its choice*, and has in so doing a *perfect liberty*, because it has been *rendered willing* to do that, from which it was by nature averse. Augustine expresses this by the significant phrase *victrix delectatio*, or a delight in God's commandments, which overcomes every inferior appetite; and the Calvinists, when they speak of the efficacy of divine grace, mean that it acts upon man, not as a machine, but as a rational and free agent. As this grace overcomes all opposition, it is *invincible;* and

as it continues to be exerted, it is *indefectible*, and preserves those on whom it has been conferred from drawing back to perdition. The perseverance of the saints flows naturally from that decree, by which they were from eternity chosen to salvation; and all the principles of the system must be renounced, before it can be conceded that any of those for whom Christ died can fall from grace either *finally* or *totally*, that is, that they should persist so obstinately in presumptuous sins, as to forfeit entirely the divine favour.

The objections to this system may be reduced to two.

1. Its inconsistency with the nature of man as a free moral agent.

2. And its representing the Almighty in a light repugnant to our notions of his moral attributes.

The Calvinistic system is itself divided into two, *Supralapsarian* or *Sublapsarian*, according as we conceive the Deity to view mankind either as in the state of innocence before the fall of Adam, or the state of condemnation after it. The former also maintains *Reprobation*, that is, a positive decree to condemn all but the Elect; the latter adopts the milder term of *Præterition*, *passing over*. According to Dr. Hill, the good sense of modern times has almost effaced the remembrance of this distinction, which was allowed not to be essential, even when it engrossed the attention of Theologians. To God indeed, to whom the future lies open as if present, there can be no order in the Divine decrees, though the distinction may be *convenient* to use in our consideration of them. The following Schemes are from Plaifere's True doctrine of divine Predestination, concorded with God's Free-Grace and Man's Free-Will.

1. That God from all eternity predestinated some men to everlasting life, and others he reprobated to everlasting death.

2. That in this act he respected nothing but the pleasure of his own will.

3. That he decreed to permit sin to enter in upon all men, that the reprobate might be condemned for it, and that he decreed to send his Son to recover out of sin his elect, fallen together with the reprobate.

Such is the ultra-Calvinism which was advocated in this country by Perkins, whose work drew forth the reply of Arminius; it was embodied in the Lambeth Articles, and was maintained abroad by Piscator and Beza, who is described as a higher Calvinist than Calvin. It is charged with making God the author of sin, and is called Irrespective, because it hath no respect to any thing foreknown, not even to the fall of man, and much less to his restoration through Christ; and consequently it is not the doctrine of the Article, or of the Westminster Confession, which nearly copies it.

The Sublapsarian or modified system is that of Augustine, followed by the Dominicans and Bellarmine. It was established at the Synod of Dort, and was advocated there by the Representatives of the English Church, and is thought by many to be taught in this Article.

It is thus stated by Plaifere.

1. That God from all eternity decreed to create mankind holy and good.

2. That he foresaw that man, being tempted by Satan, would fall into sin, if God did not hinder it, which he decreed not to do.

3. That out of mankind, *as seen fallen into sin and misery*, he chose a certain number to raise to righteousness and to eternal life, and rejected the rest, *leaving* them in their sins.

4. That for these his elect he decreed to send his Son to redeem them, and his Spirit to call and *sanctify* them; the rest he decreed to *forsake*, leaving them to Satan and themselves, and to *punish them* for their sins.

The most formidable objection against Calvinism is, that it not only represents the Deity as partial, but as imposing upon men a necessity of sinning. Those however who defend it, reject all external compulsion, and maintain that there is no other necessity for sinning, but what arises from the *inclination* of the sinner, which he *cannot*, because he is not willing to resist. The distinction between a *physical* necessity of sinning which frees from all blame, and the *moral* necessity which implies the highest degree

of blame, has been already explained. It is the foundation of our daily judgments upon moral conduct, and removes from Calvinism the odious imputation of representing men as punished by God for what he compels them to do. Still, however, a cloud hangs over the subject, and there is a difficulty in reconciling the mind to a system, which after laying for a foundation, that *special grace* is necessary to the production of human virtue, adopts as its distinguishing tenet, that this grace is denied to many. When this objection is calmly examined, it will be found resolvable into that question which has exercised the human mind ever since it began to speculate, without being able to answer it. How was moral evil introduced? and why is it permitted to exist under the government of a Being, whose wisdom, power, and goodness, are without bounds? It is seen that some do not repent and believe, but their conduct, like every other event in the universe, was comprehended in the divine plan. Because God has not conferred upon them the grace which would have led them to pursue a different conduct, the Calvinist infers that it was not his purpose to confer that grace, and he believes the purpose is good, because it is that of a perfect Being. The Arminian seems to remove the difficulty, but he only seems. His explanation is, that men do not repent and believe, because they resist the grace that was given for that purpose. But if we ask, why one man yields to it, when another, under circumstances equally favourable, resists it; his only explanation is, that the one has *naturally* a *better disposition* than the other. Now as it is the *same* God that *confers grace* who *made* us, and who also by his providence orders the place of our birth, and the circumstances of our lives, the two systems, though the steps be somewhat different, lead ultimately to the same conclusion. The salvation of some and not of others, is ultimately resolvable into the good pleasure of Him, who by a different dispensation of the gifts of nature or of grace might have saved all. Such being the difficulties of Arminianism and Calvinism, it is natural to think that there must be some *middle* course. I shall therefore in the last place state the

third opinion, supported by Bishop Davenant in his latin Dissertationes on the Death of Christ and on Predestination, and in his english Animadversions on Hoart's Treatise on God's Love to mankind, which endeavours to unite the *universal* redemption of the former, with God's purpose of *special* love to the elect. It is thus stated by Plaifere.

That God decreed to send his Son to die for the world, and his Word to call, and to offer salvation unto all men, with a *common* and *sufficient* grace in the means to work faith in men, if they be not wanting to themselves; and that out of God's foreknowledge of man's infirmity, and that none would believe by this common grace, he decreed to add a *special* grace, more effectual and abundant to *whomsoever he pleased*, chosen according to his own purpose, by which they shall not only be able to believe, but also actually believe. The *secret* will of God is thus reconciled with his *general* and *conditional* will, that is, as the Article expresses it, "that will is to be followed by us, which we have expressly revealed in his word," that Christ redeemed *all* mankind, that Christ commanded the Gospel to be preached unto *all*, that God wills and commands *all men* to receive it. And this opinion agrees with the judgment of Augustine, as he is expounded by Prosper, who says, that the whole dispute may be settled by this single text calmly considered, *God is the Saviour of all men, specially of those who believe*[f]. I think, says Bishop Davenant, that no sound theologian of the Reformed Church wishes to deny the general intention of saving all men through the death of Christ, upon the condition of believing, although his absolute intention, which cannot be frustrated, of granting faith and eternal life to some, is special, and restricted to the elect. Thus there is no ground for complaint, and Augustine's observation upon the first man is applicable to all his descendants. "So God ordained the life of all angels and men, that therein he might first manifest how far free will could go, and then what the benefit of his grace and the judgment of righteousness could do[g]."

[f] 1 Tim. iv. 10.

[g] De Corrupt. cap. 10.

I proceed to a brief analysis of the Article. It consists of two parts; the first, which lays down the doctrine of Predestination; the second, which points out the use and abuse of it. The doctrine, which is stated with great caution almost exclusively in St. Paul's words, is that of Predestination unto life; it does not so much as name Predestination unto death, or, as it is called, Reprobation, leaving men to regard it contrary to high Calvinism, as *no positive decree*, and no more than the bare negation or denial of that special favour, which in mercy is bestowed upon the elect. *Præterition*, or passing by, is certainly a distinct act from *positive Reprobation*. "God," says Bishop Davenant, "did eternally decree to glorify himself in the salvation of some, and the damnation of others, which the event will plainly demonstrate. But for those in whose salvation he decreed to glorify his mercy, he worketh in them the means of their salvation, by an influx of grace into their souls, by a powerful yet not violent, by a most sweet and yet most infallible, guidance of their will. As for those in whose damnation God glorifieth his sovereignty and justice, he doth it not by an influx of malice into their souls, nor by *unavoidable* wresting of their wills unto any particular sin, but leaves all sinful actions to their own sinful and defective will; and they wanting the special grace and effectual guidance proceeding from divine Predestination, never fail to run themselves willingly and wittingly upon their own damnation. The means whereby men are brought unto salvation are real effects of divine election wrought by God's Spirit, as light and heat are the effects of the sun; but the means whereby men are carried to their own damnation proceed from themselves. Notwithstanding the absolute decrees, that is, God's secret will, his revealed will, and the Gospel promises, stand in their full force. If Cain repent and live well, he shall be pardoned and saved. If Peter repent not, he shall be damned. Election and præterition are no good arguments to prove that therefore the non-elected are left without sufficient remedy. Adam was not predestined to stand, but he was not thereby bereft of sufficient means of

standing. Judas is reprobated, therefore he will not use the means offered for his salvation; but it is not a just consequence to say, therefore God hath not given him sufficient remedies, were not his own wicked will the only hindrance. All that the Father hath given to the Son *will come unto him*, and whoever is willing, may take of the water of life *freely*. The case has been thus illustrated. *Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem.* Such was the decree of Cyrus to the captive Jews. This was a *general* invitation and permission to all. But many had got comfortable settlements at Babylon, and they cared not enough for the holy city, or for the interests of religion, to encounter the perils and hardships of such an expedition. Who then eventually availed themselves of the king's unlimited permission? *All they whose spirit God had raised to go*, and none else. The others *might*, and *could*, had they had a *willing mind;* but they had not, and therefore they went not. Nor would any have gone, had not God interposed to make some of them willing.

Calvin does not shrink from a statement of the consequences, which he, as well as his opponents, considers to result from the system. "Election itself," he says, "could not exist without being opposed to Reprobation." He reminds us, that St. Paul silences the objector, by stating that election proceeds from the good pleasure or decree of God; but though he does not give any account of his matters, it does not follow that he has not a good reason for his conduct, though we cannot discover it. As an arbitrary sovereign is too often actuated by caprice or some other unworthy motive, arbitrary will suggests the idea of an unjust and unreasonable one; but, as Calvin remarks, since the will of God is the highest rule of justice, so what he wills must be considered just, because he wills it. We represent not God as lawless, who is a law unto himself; his will being the highest standard of perfection, the law of laws. Nevertheless, Præterition is a term more pleasing to my ears, and is, I think, supported by the description of mankind as *dead in trespasses and sin*, and consequently obnoxious to the divine

displeasure. *God sent his Son not to condemn the world, but that through him the world might be saved*[i]; and, *He that believeth not is condemned already*, not as it should seem on account of any decree of reprobation, but *because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God;* and this is said to be *the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil*[k]. The same advice is given by the preeminent French Divine, so highly praised by the "judicious" Hooker, from whom in modern times and in Protestant countries the doctrine of Predestination has received the name of Calvinism. The subject forms a very small part of his celebrated Institutes, which are much fuller on the means of grace and on the commandments; and is treated entirely, by him, not as a philosopher, but as a theologian. He begins with some preliminary advice, desiring only this general admission, that we should neither scrutinize those things which the Lord has left concealed, nor neglect those which he has openly exhibited; lest we be condemned for excessive curiosity, or for ingratitude; for, he continues, "it is judiciously observed by Augustin that we may safely follow the Scripture, which proceeds as a mother stooping to the weakness of a child. Of the former he says, let them remember that they penetrate into the inmost recesses of divine wisdom, where the careless and confident intruder will obtain no satisfaction to his curiosity, but will enter a labyrinth from which he will find no way to depart. It is unreasonable for men to scrutinize with impunity those things which the Lord hath determined to hide in himself, and to investigate, even from eternity, that sublimity of wisdom which God would have us to adore, and not comprehend, that it may promote our admiration of his glory. The secrets of his will which he determined to reveal to us, he reveals in his Word: and these he foresaw are all that would concern us, or conduce to our advantage." And further on, "We shall observe the best order, if in seeking an assurance of our election, we confine our attention to those subsequent signs which are certain attestations of it.

[i] John iii. 17, 18. [k] John iii. 19.

Satan never attacks the faithful with a more dangerous temptation than when he disquiets them with doubts of their election, and stimulates them to seek it in a wrong way. Therefore if we dread shipwreck, let us earnestly beware of this rock on which none ever strike without being destroyed. But though the discussion may be compared to a dangerous ocean, yet in traversing it the voyage is safe, and I will add pleasant, to those who do not expose themselves to danger. For as those who seek the assurance of their election without the Word, plunge into a fatal abyss, so those who investigate it in the Word, derive from it peculiar consolation. Those who err in the opposite extreme, and from fear of its abuse wish Election to be altogether omitted, he admonishes that Scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit, in which as nothing useful is omitted, so nothing is taught which it is not beneficial to know. Let the Christian open his ears and his heart to all discourses addressed to him by God, but as soon as he closes his gracious mouth, let him desist from enquiry[g]."

This decree is described as an *everlasting* purpose, determined by God's secret counsel, which implies, that though there be revealed to us some hopeful signs of election, as is witnessed in the next paragraph, "the feeling of the working of the Spirit of Christ," yet the certainty of it is a secret hidden in God, and in this life undiscoverable. The purpose is "to deliver from curse and damnation those whom God hath *chosen in Christ*[h] out of mankind." The decree then, according to our Church, does not view man in a state of innocence, according to the high Calvinist, nor in a state of restoration, and all but glorification, with the Lutheran and the Arminian, but in a lapsed state, as miserable and damnable.

Then follows the mode of executing the decree, or the manifestation of Predestination unto life. "Wherefore they who be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit, working in due season; they, through grace, obey the calling, they be

[g] Institutes, book iii. 21, 22.

[h] In Christ, was added in 1562.

justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity." The passage evidently refers to the Apostle's declaration to the Romans: *Those whom he foreknew he did predestinate, and whom he did predestinate them he also called; whom he called he also justified, whom he justified he also glorified*[i]. Here we learn, that whoever would know whether he be himself of the number of the elect, must not fix his eye immediately upon either of the extremes, predestination or glorification, but upon the middle links of the chain. That he hath been called, no baptized person can doubt; but let him examine himself whether or not he hath obeyed the call, whether he hath been in any degree made like to the image of God's only Son, and walks religiously in good works; and in proportion as he can answer these questions affirmatively, he may trust that he hath been predestinated to salvation. I think also, that the language conveys the meaning, that *foreseen faith and virtue* are not the *causes*, but the *effects* of election; and that God hath chosen us in Christ, not because he foresaw that we would be, but in order that we should be, *holy and without blame before him in love*[k]; and that we *are his workmanship, created in Jesus Christ unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them*[l]. This interpretation seems to be borne out, by the caution in the second part of the Article, on the use and abuse of the doctrine, both of which are very intelligible upon this view, whereas the other admits scarcely of the first, and certainly not of the second. The consideration of Election is called a godly one; not therefore a presumptuous and hopeless attempt to read the closed volume of God's secret book of life, but an humble endeavour by self-examination to ascertain, if we have the moral character, with which it is inseparably united, of which these tests are given; "the feeling of the working of the Spirit of Christ, in mortifying the works of the flesh, and in drawing up the mind to high and heavenly things." This consideration, it is added, is full of sweet, pleasant,

[i] Rom. viii. [k] Eph. i. 4. [l] Eph. ii. 10.

and unspeakable comfort;" and the reason assigned is, "that it doth fervently kindle love to God"—doubtless by exciting gratitude—and also that "it confirms the faith of eternal salvation," that is, I conceive, by leading us to infer from the evidence of present grace, that we shall persevere to the end, in faith and holiness, and consequently shall attain salvation. On the other hypothesis of a *conditional* decree, I do not perceive what greater comfort can be drawn from the consideration of election, than from the general promises of redemption, of the acceptance of the penitent, and of the recompense of good works. And the remark applies still more forcibly to the abuse of the doctrine. We are told, that "for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall," as if they were standing on the verge of a steep precipice of dangerous and dizzy height, from which the Devil may thrust them either into *despair*, or a *recklessness of unclean living*." Nothing is more common in the opponents of Calvinism, than the charging these evils upon it; and it must be confessed, that though not its legitimate results, as will be allowed by all who know that the election is to holiness as the means, no less than to glory as the end, still there have been in all ages too many disposed to abuse it in either way; there are those who in despair think, that Christ did not die for them, and that they are excluded from mercy; and there are those also, probably fewer, who maintain, that if they are elect, they may live if they please, in sin. The Arminian doctrine is clearly not capable of this abuse. Two characters are under consideration, the curious to whom *desperation* refers, the carnal to whom *wretchlessness*. The latter, spelt recklessness, occurs in Shakespeare, and reckless is still in use. The Latin original has securitatem impurissimæ vitæ, corresponding to solutam quandam et mollem vitæ securitatem of the Reformatio Legum. That code has prorsus alieni as the equivalent of lacking the Spirit of Christ.

The remedy is in God's general promises, and in his will, as expressly declared unto us in his word. His promises are so large, that none are excepted by name or character; *him*

that cometh unto me I will not cast out[i]. *Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters*[k]*:* and Christ complaineth of men, *Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life*[l]. The promise being *general*, why should *any* exclude themselves? *Every one who asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth*[m]. Even at the latest hour the greatest sinner may receive pardon; no one then who sincerely seeks it can be a reprobate. There have been instances of persons who have plunged the deepest into iniquity in every age, of whom it may be said, as St. Paul addressing the Corinthians writes after a catalogue of enormous sins, *and such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God*[n]. Suppose one of these awakened to a sense of his guilt and danger, could he even himself have drawn up a clause more encouraging him to come to the Saviour, than that Saviour's own gracious words, not once, but continually repeated? He has no occasion to enquire whether he be elect, which he cannot know. He has only to ask himself, Am I desirous to be saved from the pollution as well as from the power of sin? do I believe in the all-sufficiency of the remedy provided, and am I willing to trust to Christ as my Saviour, and to obey him as my King? And he may be satisfied that every approach to a temper and conduct so opposite to corrupt nature, must be from the suggestions of the holy Spirit. Still less reason can he have to despair of his election, who is a real believer, and is desirous of obeying the commandments of God, for to him the Scriptures abound with comfort. *As many as are led by the Spirit of God are the sons of God*[o]*;* and, *there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit*[p]. Whence Augustine says, From your godly and upright course of life, ye may conclude that ye belong to God's gracious election. And I will add, that foreseen merit cannot be so full of comfort to godly persons, or so kindle their love to God, as His everlasting purpose before the foundation of the world was laid.

[i] John vi. 37. [k] Isaiah lv. 1. [l] John v. 40. [m] Matt. vii. 8.
[n] 1 Cor. vi. 11. [o] Rom. viii. 14. [p] Rom. viii. 1.

The opposite error is presumption; and to a hasty conclusion of their own election the carnal annex this profane inference, Live as I will, since I am predestinated, I shall be saved. To this we oppose the *revealed will* of God, which expressly declares, that *the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment.* I borrow from Bishop Davenant this admonition to such rash presumers. Although God has from eternity elected some, yet if we come down to particular persons, it is a secret kept close in his own breast. The decree, as it concerneth others, is altogether unsearchable by us; as it concerns ourselves it is unsearchable also in its *causes*, and is to be perceived only in its *effects* after our conversion and sanctification. Thus St. Paul describes the foundation stone, *The Lord knoweth them that are his:* and, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity*[k]. As if he had said, God himself knoweth who are elected from the secret decree of his own will; but thou, O man, whosoever thou art, dost not know that thou art elected, but by departing from thy course of iniquity. In the beginning of the Epistle to the Ephesians also the Apostle teacheth both these points. That God chose *his* before the foundation of the world, and that they have not the assurance of this election, till after they have believed from the heart. If thou obeyest God's call, thou mayest rightly conclude that thou wast from all eternity predestinated. If thou persevere in thy unbelief and impiety, dream thou mayest, or surmise, know or believe thou canst not. Let us put a case, that a battle were to be waged between two armies, and that God by some prophet had revealed, that the far greater part of the soldiers should perish in the fight, without mentioning what particular persons should escape; I demand, if any man, by occasion of the divine will *thus far* revealed, would before the combat reckon himself to be one of those who must perish, and hereupon throw down his weapons, and run upon the swords of the enemy—I demand, whether this wretch shall rather be thought to be driven into this despair by the divine revelation, or by his own madness? A man, saith Augustine, ought not to despair of the salvation

[k] 2 Tim. ii. 19.

of any one, whom the patience of God doth suffer to live, least of all, of his own. This deadly conclusion, therefore, that I am one of the reprobate, ought to be repelled by every Christian as "a most dangerous downfall."

Dr. Hey, certainly no Calvinist, asks, Is not the doctrine of Predestination hurtful to virtue? and thus answers it. No; virtue is in our Article presupposed, before men are allowed to meddle with predestination: those who are to hope that God's purpose will prove favourable to them, must "walk *religiously in good works;*" those who may meditate on the Christian dispensation as having been planned in the divine counsels, must not be *carnal* but *godly persons.* And even these, according to our notions, ought only to dwell upon the decrees of God as *far* as will promote and strengthen their virtue. Besides, these texts which mention predestination, are also so linked[r] with the mention of virtue and holiness, that no ingenious man will take the former and leave the latter. He sums up with this remark, One would do a great deal to suit weak brethren; but there is no sufficient reason why those who are *not* weak should lose such sublime devotion; especially as those who are perplexed by meditations on the benign purposes and plans of the Supreme Being, are under no sort of *obligation* to dwell upon them.

[r] Eph. i. 4; ii. 10.

LECTURE XIV.

ARTICLE XVIII.

OF OBTAINING ETERNAL SALVATION ONLY BY THE NAME OF CHRIST.

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

The Hindus represent Heaven as a palace with many gates, and regard the varieties of worship prevailing in different countries as agreeable to the Universal Parent. The heathen philosophers of the lower empire, pleading for toleration after the triumph and establishment of Christianity, advocate the same sentiment: and a Poet of our own has gone so far as to say,

> For modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight,
> His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.

The distich, however, has been stretched beyond its legitimate meaning; for the allusion to grace, and the phrase *modes* of faith, not faith itself, seem to show, that Pope is not arguing for the sufficiency of natural religion, but that he means to assert that the faith of no *Christian* can be essentially wrong if it causes him to lead a good life. As a professing Roman Catholic, he could not justify to his own

Church such a position, even in a qualified sense. We Protestants allow all who retain essential doctrines to be within the pale of salvation; and the Article speaks not of erring brethren, but of those who deem all doctrines unimportant speculation, and "presume to say that every man shall be saved *by* the law or sect which he professes, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature."

Such a doctrine is not extraordinary among nations who do not lay claim to any revelation of the divine will, and whose religion mainly consists in traditional rites and ceremonies: but if God hath declared the conditions on which he will accept us, assent or refusal cannot be supposed to be indifferent. If a man may be saved by any law which he chooses to profess, why should a particular one be revealed? He is not entitled to the appellation of Christian, who resolves his religion into a mere scheme of agenda and credenda, of what he is himself to believe and to do; Christianity also reveals what God has done for man, and Christ is called our Saviour and Redeemer, because he has died to deliver us from eternal death, and to make us capable of enjoying eternal happiness. Since we all die in consequence of the transgression of Adam, we can only live through the propitiatory sacrifice of the death of Christ. As we have no personal righteousness of our own to recommend us to God, we must by faith appropriate to ourselves that of Christ, and whatever interpretation we adopt of the preceding Article, we declare that "God has delivered from curse and damnation those out of mankind whom he hath chosen *in Christ*," confessing thereby that without Christ, they must have remained under the curse. How then can a Christian hesitate to assent to this proposition, that "holy Scripture doth set forth unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved?" The words themselves are a portion of holy writ, for they contain the declaration of Peter to the Sanhedrim, when he and John were brought before that assembly, in consequence of their healing the lame man at the gate of the temple. The context shows, that both miraculous bodily cures, and the

salvation of the soul, are to be exclusively ascribed to Christ. Similar declarations, equally positive, may be found throughout the New Testament. Thus St. Paul replied to the jailer, who enquired what he should do to be saved, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ*[a]. *This*, saith St. John, *is the record, that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son*[b]. And our Lord himself declares, *I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me*[c]. And when he said unto his Apostles, *go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*, he added, *whoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned*[d]. The declaration approves itself to our judgment; for surely God would not have given his only-begotten Son to save the world, if any other method could have availed; and we must allow the force of the Apostle's argument, *If there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness had been by the law; but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise of faith by Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe*[e].

The doctrine here rejected would make belief in Christianity indifferent. No wonder then that it is denounced in such strong language, both in the Article and in the Reformatio Legum, which declares, Horribilis est et inanis illorum audacia qui contendunt in omni religione vel sectâ quam homines professi fuerint, salutem illis esse sperandam, To be had accursed; Anathematizandi sunt; is the established language of the Church, as may be seen in the Acts of Councils, which use this form of condemning error. The meaning seems to be, that they ought to be excommunicated, and while in this state, deprived of any portion in God's covenant with his people. No persons had been pronounced accursed before, yet we have the word *also;* several errors, however, had been censured, as in the sixteenth Article, "they are to be condemned which say that they can no more sin." Still this doctrine seems to many to be too harsh to be true; and although we readily concede that there can be no

[a] Acts xvi. 31. [b] 1 John v. 11. [c] John xiv. 6.
[d] Mark xvi. 15, 16. [e] Gal. iii. 21.

hope for those who wilfully reject the faith into which they were baptized, and *count the blood of the covenant whereby they have been sanctified an unholy thing*[f], yet they are perplexed on considering, that, even in the nineteenth century of its promulgation, Christianity has been offered to a minority of the human race; and upon this supposition millions of every generation have passed into endless misery, no opportunity of avoiding which was ever afforded them. Not only do our feelings revolt from the statement, but Scripture itself contains passages which seem to hold out hope to the virtuous and well-meaning heathen. We are told, that *God is no respecter of persons*[g], but that *in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him;* and though the alms and devotions of Cornelius were not in themselves sufficient, but an Apostle was divinely commissioned to instruct and baptize him, still in other countries and ages when miraculous interferences have ceased, and, humanly speaking, the Gospel could not penetrate, we may conclude that similar characters would meet with the like acceptance, and be acknowledged by Christ at the last day as his, though never admitted into his Church. The notion seems encouraged by St. Paul's questions; *How can they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how can they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how can they hear without a preacher*[h]*?* which apparently intimate, that men cannot be bound to believe, and by consequence will not be punished for not believing, unless the Gospel be preached to them. And in the opening of the same Epistle, where he divides mankind into Jew and Gentile, he adds, *when the Gentiles that have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves.*

How far they act up to this light of nature, and whether the best may not be found wanting, even according to their own low standard of moral duty, is not the question, but that they will be tried by it, appears to be here asserted. There is a natural and easy way of solving the whole difficulty,

[f] Heb. x. 29. [g] Acts x. 34, 35. [h] Rom. x. 14.

to those at least who believe with our Church in universal redemption. The thirty-first Article declares, that "the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual;" and the seventh, "that in the Old as well as in the New Testament eternal life is offered to mankind by Christ." If then this sacrifice will by anticipation prove efficacious to the salvation of the Patriarchs, who looked forward to it in faith before it took place, why may not the benefit of it be assigned to those who have never heard of it, if they endeavour to live up to the light they have. Thus they may be saved *in* their own religion, though not *by* it. It is the latter opinion which would nullify Christianity, that the Article condemns: nothing is said respecting the former. If they be saved, Christ will still be their Saviour, though they never knew him to be such, since it is his sacrifice only that enables God to be merciful, without compromising his holiness and his justice. This doctrine seems to me to be most in harmony with reason, and most honourable to our Redeemer; nor ought it to relax our exertions in behalf of missions to his ancient people, who reject him; to the Mahometans, who regard him as inferior to their own prophet; or to the millions of the heathen, to whom his religion is unknown even by name. To announce his salvation, as far as our opportunities enable us, ought to be our delight, and is an imperative duty. And though the Heathen, who continues in ignorance without any fault of his, *may* be saved through a Redeemer of whom he has never heard, we *know* that the sincere and genuine convert, if he persevere to the end, will be accepted, and will in this state of trial receive such aid from the Holy Spirit, as can be conferred on none but a believer.

ARTICLE XIX.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

We have reviewed the leading doctrines of Christianity, and have seen that the Bible is the only rule of faith; we have considered the state of individuals by nature, and as modified by divine grace, the quality of their actions, and the grounds upon which they may look for salvation. In the remaining Articles, therefore, we have to treat of them as united in a Religious Society; for, as we have observed in the Introduction, Religion is not merely a personal concern, but it was our Lord's intention to form his people into a spiritual Commonwealth. This appears by his command to his Apostles, to admit converts into his kingdom by the significant rite of Baptism, upon entering into which they renounced by themselves if adults, by their proxies if the infants of believers, the Devil, the Prince as he is called of this world, which he has usurped, and engaged to serve their lawful Master, who claims them as his, both by creation and redemption. This society is called in the original language Ἐκκλησία, the Greek term for a public meeting of any description. Congregation is the word invariably used by our translators in the Old Testament, Church in the New: thus among other instances, "there was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the *congregation* of Israel[i];" "this was he that was in the *church* in the wilderness[k]." Congregation, however, is the rendering in Tyndal's New Testament, and is in some

[i] Joshua viii. 35. [k] Acts vii. 38.

respects better, since in modern times we apply the former word to the building in which the Church properly so called, that is, the congregation, assembles. This sense of the word does not occur in the New Testament. In ordinary language men are too apt to restrict its meaning to the Clergy, a similar error to that which applies the word State to the governors of it, in both of which it is obvious, though in both it has been occasionally forgotten, that the officers are appointed for the sake of the body, not that the body exists for the sake of the officers. Bearing this in mind, a very different sense is given to this text, a leading one in the controversies on Church government, *if thy brother will not hear thee, tell it unto the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen;* that is, out of the congregation, out of the communion of believers.

The preceding Article showed, that salvation was not to be expected out of the Church; and the Romanist claims that sacred name as exclusively belonging to him. Our Reformers, however, thought that they could not lawfully communicate with one so corrupt. They not only felt themselves at liberty, but bound in duty, to reform it, and the liberty they assumed they could not deny to other national Churches. It became consequently necessary to define a Church, in order to distinguish it from an unlawful assembly; and this is done in the present Article, which consists of two propositions; the first defining the Church, the second affirming an historical fact which none of us will dispute, that "the Church of Rome hath erred not only in life but in doctrine." The definition of a Church, which is a very liberal one, is in accordance with that in the enlarged Confession of Augsburg. Ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione Sacramentorum. The only indispensable conditions then here laid down are, that the pure Word of God should be preached and the Sacraments duly administered in all essential particulars. Even prayer is not mentioned, though it must be understood; for the first record of the Church is, that those who were baptized on the day of Pentecost *continued stedfastly in the Apostles'*

doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and in prayers[k]; and indeed neither could breaking of bread, that is, the Eucharist, nor the other Sacrament, be duly administered without it. Nothing is said of discipline, yet enough to preserve the existence, if not the good government, of the Church must be presumed. It is silent also as to the name, rank, employments, and ordination of its ministers, which form the subject of two subsequent Articles, drawn up with equal moderation, for the questions of Episcopacy and Presbyterian ordination are not brought forward; other systems of Church government are not condemned, and of our own it is not said to be the best, or to be of divine authority, and no more is required than the negative commendation, that "the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, hath nothing in it superstitious or ungodly;" and the necessary consequence from this, that persons so consecrated or ordained are lawfully admitted to their spiritual functions.

The *general assembly* and *church of the first-born who are enrolled in Heaven*[l], are described in the New Testament under various figures, as *the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all*[m], the *spouse* of which Christ is the *Bridegroom*[n], the *body*[o] of which He is the *Head*, and for which Christ delivered himself, that *he might sanctify it, and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word*, that he *might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle*[p]. This is the society for which Jesus prayed that *they might be all one*, the corporation whose *citizenship is in heaven*[q]; that one spiritual house, built *upon the foundation of the prophets and the Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth to a holy temple in the Lord*[r]; that *one body into which we are all baptized*[s], which *is knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid to its nourishment and increase*[t]; which derives its life from its one Head, and is moved by one Spirit. Such a Church, however, in the full meaning of these

[k] Acts ii. 42. [l] Heb. xii. 23. [m] Gal. iv. 26. [n] John iii. 29.
[o] Col. i. 18. [p] Acts xx. 28; Eph. v. 26, 27. [q] Phil. iii. 20.
[r] Eph. ii. 20, 21. [s] 1 Cor. xii. 13. [t] Eph. iv. 16.

magnificent characteristics, has never appeared upon earth, not even after the pentecostal descent of the Holy Ghost, when the *saved* were daily *added to the Church*[x], and the baptized continued *stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers*[y]; for in this the original, and probably the purest, congregation ever formed, there were Ananias and his wife, and murmurings of the Hellenizing believers against the Jewish, in which one part at least must be to be blamed. It is that invisible Church, which, according to Hooker[z], "cannot be sensibly discerned, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallible of that body." Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour has said, *I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands*[a]. They who are of this Society have such notes of distinction from all others, as are not an object to our senses, only unto God they are clear and manifest. These everlasting promises belong to the mystical Church; "but this," says Barrow[b], "the visible Church doth enfold, as one floor the corn and the chaff, as one field the wheat and the tares, as one fold the sheep and the goat; because this society is designed to be in reality, what the other is in appearance, the same with the other; because therefore presumptively every member of this doth pass for a member of the other, (the time of separation being not yet come,) therefore commonly the titles of the one are imparted to the other.

The Article only treats of the visible Church. I therefore transcribe the definition of the invisible in Nowell's Catechism, which, like Bishop Jewel's Apology, may be considered of semi-symbolical authority. "The Church is the universal society of all the faithful, whom God predestinated from eternity to everlasting life through Christ." The Creed properly relates to this community, which can neither be seen nor always discerned; but there

[x] Acts ii. 47. [y] Acts ii. 42. [z] Book iii. [a] John x. 28.
[b] Barrow concerning the unity of the Church.

is also a visible Church, which is so called, because though many belong to it who are any thing but true members, nevertheless, because wherever the Word is purely preached and the Sacraments rightly administered, there will be found some destined to salvation through Christ; for he has promised, that wherever even two or three are gathered together in his name, there he will be in the midst of them."

The properties of the Church, as expressed in the Apostles' Creed, are Unity, Sanctity, and Catholicity, to which the Nicene adds, Apostolicity. The Church is one, having *one Lord, one baptism*[c], and preserving the *one faith once committed to the saints*[d], as if, to use the words of Irenæus, she dwelt in the same house, had but one soul, and one heart, and uniformly teaching as if she had but one mouth. Holiness is also predicated of it, and this Article defines the Church as a congregation of faithful men, meaning by that word that they are holy, not as represented in the Roman Catechism, simply because set apart to God's service, but in conformity with all the Protestant Confessions, inwardly sanctified by the Holy Spirit. It need not be matter of surprise, says that Catechism, that the Church, which comprises in itself the evil as well as the good, should notwithstanding be termed holy, for to that appellation all are entitled who profess to believe in Christ, and have received the Sacrament of baptism. From this it follows, that all, except unbelievers, heretics, and schismatics, and the excommunicated, however wicked they may be, must without doubt be held to be within the pale. Mr. Litton, in his able and instructive Treatise on the Church of Christ, thus states the difference. "The Romanist, while admitting that there is, or ought to be in the Church an interior life, not cognizable by mortal eye, yet regards this as a separate accident, and makes the essence of the Church to consist in what is external and visible; the Protestant, while admiting that to be visible as an inseparable property of the Church, makes the essence thereof to consist in what is spiritual and unseen; viz. the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians. Neither party can absolutely

[c] Eph. iv. 5. [d] Jude 3.

refuse assent to the well-known aphorism of Irenæus, "where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church;" but since in its two clauses that aphorism may be held to represent different tendencies; on the one hand, to make the presence of the Spirit dependent upon and posterior in point of time to the existence of the Church; and, on the other, to make the existence of the Church dependent upon the presence of the Spirit; it accurately expresses the true point of controversy between Romanists and Protestants. This apparently unimportant difference of view is pregnant with important results. The Romanist makes a distinction between Church membership and a state of salvation; the latter can only be affirmed of those who are renewed in heart, but the former may be enjoyed even by those who are living in mortal sin. The Protestant idea is derived from the phraseology of the Epistles, throughout which the members of the Church are presumed to be in living union with Christ; *saints and faithful brethren*, reasonings and exhortations being addressed to them, the force of which cannot be supposed to be admitted except by those who are led by the Spirit of God. Catholicity primarily is equivalent with universality, and designates the Church existing every where, and formed of believers of every *kindred, tongue, and people*, as distinguished from the synagogue limited to the Jewish nation. It was used by the Fathers in a secondary sense, to mark its orthodoxy, to the exclusion of the assemblies of Gnostics, Donatists, and other schismatics."

Rome, which allows no other Church but its own, claims an exclusive right to the title of Catholic. In the proper sense it was never strictly correct, and after its separation from the Greek Church, and still more, since the Reformation has emancipated from its bondage the north of Europe, our own country with its colonies, and the United States of America, it has become a glaring misnomer. Protestants in carelessness, or out of civility, yielded to them the title; but as they take advantage of the concession, we ought always to qualify it with the addition of Roman; though the title so qualified is a contradiction in terms. Papist,

which is really a fit distinction for those who accept Bellarmine's definition of the Church, as an assembly of men united in the profession of one and the same Christian faith, and in the communion of the same Sacraments, under the government of their lawful pastors, but especially of the Roman Pontiff, is regarded as an insult by those (unhappily a decreasing number) who are averse from the Italian theory of the Papacy, like Bossuet, and the former advocates of the Gallican liberties, whom we may distinguish as their low Churchmen. Romanist appears to be the best term, as both correct and less offensive. Apostolicity is claimed by Romanists as a note of the Church. It is called, says one of their approved divines, apostolical, on account of the *doctrine*, and on account of the *ministry*. They contend, that by an uninterrupted line of succession from the Apostles, their bishops have derived their authority, and consequently their ministrations alone are valid, to the exclusion of all who cannot trace their origin without interruption to the same source; and they acknowledge, that the doctrines taught by the Apostles form a necessary element of the succession. On personal succession giving validity to Sacraments, Scripture is silent; it even foretells false preachers, and predicts that Antichrist will sit in the temple of God; and when separated from apostolical purity of faith and morals, it is held in no estimation by the Fathers. "We do not," says Augustine, "prove our Church either from the succession of Bishops, or from the authority of Councils. Those who sit in the seat are to be heard, for in sitting in that seat they teach the law of God; but if they teach their own doctrines, you are neither to obey nor hear them[e]." "They possess not, says Ambrose[f], the inheritance of Peter, who do not possess the faith of Peter;" and long before then, Irenæus[g], when he said, "it is proper to submit to those presbyters who have the succession of the Apostles," adds, "who with the succession to the episcopate have received the undoubted gift of truth." This very passage is quoted by Archbishop Laud, in his Conference with Fisher the Jesuit. "And most evident it is,"

[e] De Unitate Ecclesiæ, i. 4. [f] De Pœnitentia, i. 6. [g] iv. 43.

he observes, "that the succession which the Fathers meant is not tied to place or person, but is tied to the verity of doctrine; for so Tertullian says expressly[h], beside the order of bishops in succession from the beginning, there is required a consanguinity, so to speak, of Apostolical doctrine. I do not find, says Laud, any one of the ancient Fathers that makes local, personal, visible, and continued succession, a necessary mark of the true Church in any one place; and where Vincentius Lirinensis calls for antiquity, universality, and consent as great notes of truth, he hath not one word of succession." Since these Lectures were drawn up, the notion of a succession of Bishops repudiated by Laud, seems to have been gaining ground in our Church, which is much to be lamented, since there is no scripture warrant for its importance, and it would be impossible to prove it. In all other Protestant Churches, Sweden excepted, episcopacy has been superseded by a presbytery, not from choice, but from necessity; and in our own, though it is easy to trace upward to Cranmer, and to his papal predecessors, an unbroken line for centuries, who shall vouch for the due consecration of the missionary to Kent, Augustine and his immediate successor? Or the still more doubtful succession from the Apostles of Aidan and the other Scottish monks, who converted the pagans of the north of England[i]? And with respect to Rome itself, which claims to be the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches, one who calmly investigates the question will probably agree with Comber[k], there is no certainty who was Bishop next to the Apostles. "There is not," says Archbishop Whately, "a Minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up with any approach to certainty his own spiritual pedigree. The sacramental virtue, (for such it is that is implied, whether the term be used or not,) on this principle, dependent on the imposition of hands, with a due observance of apostolical usages by a Bishop, himself duly consecrated, after having been in like manner ordained Deacon and Priest; this sacramental

[h] De Præscript. xxxii.

[i] Mason's Vindication of the Church of England by Lindsay, book ii. 7.

[k] On Roman Forgeries, i. 1.

virtue, if a single link of the chain be faulty, must be utterly nullified ever after, in respect of all the links that hang on that one. And who can undertake to pronounce, that during that long period, designated as the dark ages, no taint was ever introduced?" The advocates of this opinion respect the authority of the Fathers; but this extract from Gregory of Nazianzen's panegyric of Athanasius, shows how little he valued a mere personal succession. "He who maintains the same doctrine of faith is partner in the same chair; but he who defends a contrary doctrine ought, though in the chair of St. Mark, to be esteemed an adversary to it. This man may have a nominal succession, but the other has the very thing itself, the succession in deed and in truth." This is a subject upon which Scripture is silent; and the earnest enquirer after religious truth will be satisfied with its possession, without a curious and unprofitable enquiry into the channels through which it has flowed, or whether those from whom he received it, had to draw it themselves from the pure undefiled well of salvation, the Word of God.

The Article passes over without notice many assumed notes of the true Church, and confines its definition to the essential points of the Word and the Sacraments. As the Church is viewed here, not as it has for centuries existed in Christendom, during which its members have been introduced into it by infant baptism, but as exhibited by the Missionary to adults, the word is first mentioned, as it is that which, read or faithfully preached, convinces the understanding, and opens the heart. The believer thereby *born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible*, is admitted to the laver of regeneration, in which by the *answer of a good conscience towards God* he hath his faith confirmed and grace increased. Of both Sacraments we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. I will only here observe, that it is difficult to conceive how the Lord's Supper can be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all these things that of "necessity are requisite to the same," in a Church which worships one of the elements, and deprives the congregation of the other. We forbear to enquire what additions or defects annul the efficacy of Sacraments in other Churches, having abundant

reason to be thankful for the services with which they are administered in our own. The adoration of the sacramental Bread and Wine, we are taught, "were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians;" and the Homilies bring against Rome other charges of the same offence; but as the Jews, notwithstanding their worship of the images, not of saints or of angels, but of false gods, were still addressed by the prophets as the people of Jehovah, our Church practically acknowledges that of Rome, as she does not reordain the priests who leave her communion for our's, but is satisfied with a recantation of her errors, and the abjuration of the Papal Supremacy.

Church in the restricted sense here used, is authorized by the New Testament, for Paul speaks of the church at Corinth; St. Luke speaks of that Apostle as going through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches; and St. John was commanded to write to the seven in Asia. The conclusion of the Article is levelled against Rome, which not only maintains that she has never erred, but that she never can. She appeals to her infallibility as the test of her being the true Church; and till this monstrous claim was not only made, but enforced by carnal weapons, so that for ages none dare openly dispute it, it would, if the idea had ever occurred to the believer of an earlier age, have been rejected as incredible. Our Article accuses her as guilty not only "in living and manner of ceremonies," but also "in matters of faith." The Latin is more definite, agenda and credenda; the former meaning not merely wicked living, but the allowing and even teaching immorality. To make the charge at the same time less offensive and more probable, it is observed, that "as the Churches of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also has the Church of Rome." As to the errors of the latter, the greater part of the remaining Articles is directed against them: on those of the former, it is not necessary to dwell: as it is not denied by the Romanists; but we may observe, that they at one time favoured Arianism. If speculation was allowable on a point which may be at once decided by an appeal to facts, the claim to the maintenance of the

truth might have been advanced with as much plausibility by any of these churches as by Rome. Jerusalem could boast of being the origin and parent of all, and had had St. James for her Bishop; that of Alexandria, that she was founded by the Evangelist Mark, the convert and companion of St. Peter; and that of Antioch could prove, what Rome can only render probable, that St. Peter was her founder. They were all also as well as Rome Patriarchates, that is, had many churches, not only episcopal but archiepiscopal, under the jurisdiction of their prelates. It is well known to the reader of ecclesiastical history, that the Roman Supremacy grew up gradually, originating in its legitimate authority as the Patriarchate of the West, strengthened by the natural deference of the recently converted barbarous nations, who occupied the greater part of its provinces, and by its having been the ancient capital of the empire in which the Papal power, temporal as well as spiritual, was much promoted by the withdrawing of the supreme civil governor to new Rome, as Constantine called his city. The name Pope is only the English rendering of Papa, and means in fact the Father, by way of eminence. In the west it has been long restricted to the Holy Father, as Roman Catholics call the Bishop of Rome; and we use similar phraseology when we address our own bishops as fathers in Christ. In the east, as may be seen in any book of travels, it is the common appellation of all priests.

Supremacy was asserted by Rome early, but infallibility is a later claim. St. Cyprian resisted even the first; and when Constantinople was raised to patriarchal dignity and privileges, it was declared to be equal to Rome, rank and order only being reserved to the original capital. It is strange that the Roman Catholics are not themselves agreed as to the seat of this infallibility, which some place in the Pope, others in a General Council. If in the latter it can be learnt only from its decrees, and its voice for many ages together has been silent. Upon this supposition it has not been heard since the close of the last, that of Trent, which terminated about the same time as the final settlement of these Articles. Till Romanists are agreed where it is

lodged, they can hardly expect Protestants to acknowledge it. In an enlightened age like this, and one so little prone to bow to authority, except its claims can be substantiated by reason or Scripture, they wisely keep so offensive and absurd a doctrine as much as possible out of sight. If we convict them of a single error, there is at once an end of their infallibility, and no other Church puts forth the claim. It is clear that the western Patriarchate has no greater reason than the others to expect such a privilege to be conferred upon it; nor can the Pope inherit either this, or supremacy from his presumed predecessor St. Peter, who had not the latter to confer, and whose apostolical infallibility, like that of Paul and the rest, was not transferable. The doctrine is too absurd to require refutation, and has indeed been refuted by facts. When Pope Liberius condemned Athanasius, he was universally condemned himself, and was not again acknowledged till he had retracted. Honorius was condemned as a Monothelite, in the sixth General Council. Pelagianism, condemned by Innocent, was approved by his immediate successor Zozimus; and the sentence of the same Innocent, in favour of Infant Communion, was anathematized by Pius IV. in conformity to the Council of Trent. Thus we have Pope against Pope, and we shall soon find Councils opposed to Councils.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, formed out of Jews and Proselytes a new religious body. The next Church recorded is that of Antioch, which sent forth Barnabas and Paul; and through their preaching and that of others to the idolatrous heathen, Christianity gradually took possession of the cities of the Roman empire, and was even propagated beyond its pale. These churches, before the conversion of Constantine, were independent of one another, yet keeping up a friendly intercourse, and providing their members who travelled, with commendatory letters, which admitted them into full communion with the brethren wherever they found them. Heretics formed associations of their own, but they were few and insignificant, and for the most part gradually expired. This federative Republic composed the Catholic Church, united

in one bond of faith and in one spirit, though prevented by distance from joining together in worship. It soon assumed under its Bishops an aristocratical character, which slowly degenerated into a monarchy, through the failure of the western branch of the Roman empire, and the occupation of its European provinces by the barbarians. The Church continued to use the Latin tongue; and while Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, became distinct sovereignties, the Pope remained the spiritual governor of them all. Such was the ecclesiastical state of Christendom, till the formal separation of the Greek Church, which Rome only condemns as schismatical, while for the Churches of the Reformation she reserves the severer term heretical. We have already referred to the infallibility claimed by this corrupt community, which has in the course of ages accumulated so many pernicious errors, and such degrading and demoralizing superstition, that if we had not the attestation of history to the fact, we should reject it as an incredible libel. The tyranny it claims, and endeavours wherever it it can to exercise, is still more odious. Professing to be the only Church, it claims all baptized persons as its subjects, for it maintains the validity of the baptism of heretics, and even of infidels. And this claim renders it far more formidable than it appears on this simple statement, or as uninformed Protestants can be easily made to believe. This monstrous pretension not only justifies, but requires as a duty in a loyal member of the church, the persecution, even unto death, when prudence permits, of the heretics whom arguments fail to convince. A Pagan, a Mahometan, a Jew, the Church will tolerate; but all who profess Christianity are its subjects, and when opportunity of knowing its jurisdiction is granted, the contumacious become amenable to its laws as rebels. Such is the decision of the Canon Law.

The Church is entitled Holy Mother, not merely in hymns, or in the glowing language of devotional books, but in such a cold and formal enumeration of Articles of faith as the Papal Creed. We find the epithet as early as in an epistle of Cyprian, and it is said in a tract which used to pass under the name of Augustine, that he shall not have God for his father,

who will not have the Church for his mother. Personification is a figure in which on all subjects and in all times the human mind is disposed to indulge; thus the politician speaks of the State, or of England, and the Scholar of his College or University, as if it were an individual. And such is our tendency to clothe abstract ideas with an objective reality, that we are apt to forget that they are non-entities, and that though it be convenient to use such terms, individuals alone exist, and these *idols* of the imagination ought to have no hold upon our feelings, as they can have no just claim on our allegiance. Such language is so natural, that we imperceptibly adopt it; but the accurate thinker will take care not to suffer himself to become the dupe of his imagination. Even divines of our own communion, not content with the simple term our Mother the Church, have incautiously followed out the notion, describing her, and sometimes without thinking of its consequences, as a tender parent devising ceremonies and composing religious services for the benefit of her children, who in return are expected to show her filial reverence and affectionate obedience, till the hearer is led unconsciously into a refined idolatry, which transfers in a degree to an abstraction of the mind the homage due alone to the Redeemer and the Sanctifier. Such may well be called the magic effect of a word; translate ecclesia not *church*, but *congregation*, and the spell is broken; and *hear the Church*, assumes quite a new meaning. If we ask what is the Church, the Canon will reply, "The whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world." This simple definition at once demolishes a fanciful, unscriptural, and pernicious theory. I may well call it pernicious, for it substitutes for personal union with a personal Saviour, union with this abstraction; derives spiritual life not immediately from the vine, but from its branches. "Let this dogma," says Mr. Litton, in his able and valuable work on the Church, "be combined with that of the efficacy of the Sacraments, ex opere operato, and from the combination the Romish conception of the Church will follow. According to this system, the blessings which flow from incorporation

in Christ are bestowed upon all, however destitute they may be of sanctifying grace, who partake of the Sacraments, the Church being the interposed medium through which lies access to the Saviour. And what is required in order to ensure their due operation? Nothing but that the recipient place no positive hindrance in the way, and performs the prescribed act." Under the influence of such impressions a distinguished layman tells us, that the individual who addresses the Saviour in the closet, stands in a lower position than when praying in the congregation, as a part of her incorporated life! Happily the scriptural image of a temple is applied to individuals[d], as well as to the whole body of believers[e]; it is individuals *who are bought with a price*, and are made *kings and priests;* they are *sons*, who may come *boldly to the throne of grace*, *heirs of God*, and *joint-heirs with Christ*. We may indeed both suffer and rejoice in our collective capacity, but judgments upon nations or churches are of necessity limited to this world, in which alone they can be said to exist. Our connection with both may have tended to form our character, but it is as individuals that we must stand hereafter before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive the things done in the body.

[d] 1 Cor. vi. 17. [e] Eph. iii. 21.

ARTICLE XX.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

Having ascertained what entitles a union of professors of religion to the appellation of a Church, the next question that occurs is the nature and extent of its jurisdiction: and the subject naturally divides itself into two parts; *rites and ceremonies*, and, secondly, *tenets*. The first paragraph is directed against the Puritans, the second against the Papist; the former allowing no discretion, the latter advancing human authority above the word of God. In this Article our Church condemns these two extremes.

We have seen in the introductory Lecture, that the external evidence is in favour of the authenticity of the opening clause, and indeed the sense seems to be deficient without it. The question however is merely one of curiosity, since the Act of Parliament requires signature to a copy in which the clause is contained. It is here maintained, that the Church hath *power*, that is of course rightful power, to decree rites and ceremonies, and *authority* in controversies of faith. A distinction seems intended; the first gives power which cannot be innocently resisted, the second only weight or influence. Thus it may be proper to respect a person's judgment when he has no right to insist upon obedience, and the concurring judgment of many would be entitled to greater respect than that of one, in proportion to their number and qualifications for determining. The expression,

"in *controversies* of faith," implies, that we are not expected to give up our private judgment, except in doubtful and difficult points. The Church, like every Society, must provide means of answering the ends of its institution. No religion, says Augustine, true or false, can subsist without ceremonies. If it be a duty to meet together to worship, our meetings must be regulated by established forms, to prevent disorder and confusion. As some rites and ceremonies are essential, the first question is, has it pleased the divine Founder of our religion to give any particular directions. Now all we find of this nature is exhortation to social prayer and the institution of the two Sacraments, and some general precepts; as, *let all things be done decently and in order, let all things be done to edifying*[a]; but the application is left to the discretion not of each individual, but of the body, for without this, no body could have a permanent duration. The Sacraments themselves may be and are administered with considerable variation; no detail of a particular method is recorded, so that even in Christ's own institution, something must be left to the wisdom of the Church. And there are many other cases that must be settled, upon which Scripture is silent, as the attitude and seasons of prayer, and whether we should pray extempore, or use a form; so that even the most rigid in their theory must in practice adopt some regulations of human invention. The nature of the Jewish religion required a minute detail of sacrifices, purifications, and other rites; yet in the course of time, though the ceremonial was of divine origin, new ones were introduced, as baptism, alterations were made as in the paschal service, new fasts and festivals were added, and the worship of the synagogue was established. Our Saviour does not reprove the Jews on this account; he frequented their synagogues, and attended the feast of the dedication; and while of the greater and scriptural moral precepts he says, *these things ye ought to have done*[b]; he adds concerning certain human regulations, *and not to have left the other undone.* If then such a liberty was tolerated in a system confined to one spot and mainly divine, how

[a] 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 26. [b] Matt. xviii. 23.

much more may it be claimed for the Christian Church in which God is avowedly to be worshipped *in spirit and in truth*, since *the kingdom of God consists not in meats and drinks, but in joy in the Holy Ghost*, and the dispensation is designed for the whole race of mankind. Upon the principle, that *mercy is better than sacrifice*, aspersion in the colder climates of Europe has superseded immersion in baptism, and the love feasts and the kiss of peace, though practised with the approbation of the Apostles, have been laid aside. If Apostolical usages may be dropped, it is certainly not necessary to justify the decreeing rites and ceremonies in matters which they left untouched. We infer, that in all such ordinances, unless we find in them something to which our conscience cannot assent, individuals are bound to submit, although the customs of other denominations may be more congenial to their taste and judgment. In such cases it is our duty to bear with imperfections; it is only doctrinal error, and that in important points, that will justify separation. It is otherwise, although civilly *legal*, morally *schismatical;* and this should be considered by those who habitually attend dissenting places of worship *instead* of those of the Church, merely because the preacher may be more edifying. Where doctrinal differences are great, separation must ensue, as in our secession from Rome; but it will be difficult to clear from the guilt of schism dissenters who would agree to our Articles, and do not disapprove of our Church government. The three ceremonies the Puritans chiefly objected to were the sign of the Cross in Baptism, the wearing of surplices, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper. These have been called the three nocent ceremonies, in opposition to others in themselves innocent. In the time of King Edward there was a serious controversy about the habits of the Clergy; and Hooper, who had lived at Zurich, and adopted the simpler views of the Swiss reformers, refused the bishopric of Gloucester, because he could not be consecrated and officiate without wearing the episcopal habits then in use, which he abhorred as popish. His refusal was not admitted, and he was imprisoned, and treated with rigour; but a compromise was at last effected, and he submitted. He and his friends con-

sulted the foreign divines, especially Bullinger, and they wisely answered, that they ought to conform rather than make a schism, and that those in authority ought to indulge their scruples rather than hazard one. At this distance of time the points in debate appear to us so frivolous, that we wonder that they were viewed in so serious a light by men of sense and piety, and that one party should strive to retain, the other to throw them off, with as much energy and perseverance as if they were the fundamentals of religion. So much are times altered, and feelings and opinions with them, that now many dissenting ministers of their own accord, and with the approbation of their congregations, make use of surplices, so odious in the eyes of their ancestors; but we should recollect, that these dresses and ceremonies were badges, which many scrupled to use not only on their own account, but from their assumed connection with the corruptions of Rome.

Authority also is claimed for the Church "in controversies of faith," and the very Synod in which these Articles were adopted, shows that our own branch of it has acted upon this claim, and if it did not possess this authority they would not be obligatory upon us. This authority has been claimed and exercised from the beginning, for what Council was ever assembled that did not either determine controversies or decree ceremonies. In the first, the time of celebrating Easter was decreed, and the doctrine of Athanasius on the nature of the Son of God was declared to be the Catholic Faith. Indeed, if this authority were not conceded, it would be impossible that a controversy should ever terminate. The Scripture is certainly the rule of faith, and the supreme judge of all controversies whatever; but as in almost all disputes each party appeals to Scripture, the Church must examine and arbitrate between them. The conclusion gives three rules for the regulation of this authority. The first, that it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written, a position too evident to require proof, and which seems to be mentioned rather to remind us of what is right, than to inform us. The second, that it may

not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. As the Scriptures are all inspired by the same God of Truth, they of course contain nothing really contradictory; whatever apparent contradictions there may be, must therefore be resolved into our own imperfect comprehension, for which the only effectual remedy is a study of the whole volume, since what is slightly hinted in one part is often fully explained in another. The third rule is, that exclusive of the Scripture, nothing ought to be enforced to be believed for necessity of salvation. This has been already declared in other words in the sixth Article, which assigns the reason: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' It is obvious that no Church could refuse so equitable a rule, unless, like that of Rome, she professes to have been entrusted with some other rule of Faith. The Church is called "a keeper of Holy Writ," with a reference to the Apostle's declaration[c], that to the Jews *were committed the oracles of God.* And to this trust the ancient people of God was faithful, not only as a keeper but as a "witness," in their synagogues, by its lessons from the Law and the Prophets. In this, the Roman Church has failed ever since the Latin language ceased to be understood by the congregation, and foreign Protestants and our own Dissenters comparatively neglect this duty. The conduct therefore of our own Church, which in the course of the year reads out the greater part of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New three times, in addition to the Epistles and Gospels, which is all that is done by the Roman or Lutheran Churches, is in this respect deserving of the highest commendation, and entitles her above all others to the epithet of Scriptural. It proves that she does not fear the light, but challenges for all her tenets investigation, and will abide by the decision of the Word of God.

[c] Rom. iii. 2.

ARTICLE XXI.

OF THE AUTHORITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

Nothing can be more reasonable either in worldly or religious concerns, than consultation. The Christian community of one province, if at a loss to decide a controverted opinion, or to confirm a disputed custom, or if convinced of what it thought right, yet to satisfy those of opposite sentiments, would naturally apply for aid to the nearest congregation; and as the whole body of believers could not travel, the business would be entrusted to delegates, and none would seem so competent to explain and to judge as the ministers of religion. The greater the importance of the points in dispute, and the further the dispute had spread, the more churches it would be desirable to consult; and where the same language prevailed, and there was one civil government, these seem to be the only circumstances that could limit the extent and authority of such assemblies. In this manner Parliaments meet to deliberate: and in a few instances both in ancient and modern times, as in the Achæan league, the Swiss Cantons, and the American United States, independent republics have agreed to the superintending authority of a Congress, to which each sent its delegates, with power to decide in questions concerning their common interests. The former resembles a national Synod, such as our own Convocation in 1562, in which these Articles were agreed to; the latter, a General or

Ecumenical Council, as it is sometimes called, from Οἰκουμένη, the Greek word for the inhabited world.

What is here assumed as probable, actually took place a very few years after the promulgation of the Gospel, almost as soon as it had been preached to the Gentiles. We find from the Acts of the Apostles, that the first dispute that arose in the Church, was settled in this manner. The Jewish believers could not bring themselves to conceive that the Mosaic system revealed by God was ever to be abrogated, and therefore regarded Christianity not as superseding it, but only as the improvement and extension of Judaism. It was determined at Antioch, the chief seat of the Gentile converts, that Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem to consult upon the subject their brethren of the circumcision; and the result of their deliberations they embodied in a decree, which they sent to all the churches. This is considered by the advocates for the authority of Councils to be the first general one, and they conclude from the terms in which the decree is drawn up, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,* that all future Councils have been under the same infallible guidance. But as well might we claim infallibility in their professional capacity for the presbyters and bishops of modern times, because their Ordination may be traced up ultimately to the Apostles, as for a Synod, because the earliest was favoured with inspiration. We believe, and have all possible negative evidence, that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, which were required in the infancy of the Church, have been long withdrawn, including in the number inspiration; and there is not a single text, the present excepted, from which it can with a shadow of reason be inferred. The few passages mentioned by Burnett are, as he shows, so little to the purpose, that it is unnecessary to cite them. "If," he observes, "infallibility is supposed to be in Councils, then the Church may justly apprehend that she has lost it, for as there has been none that has pretended to the title now during 130 years, so there is no great probability of our ever seeing another." Since that Prelate wrote this sentence, that period is more than doubled, and certainly

the probability is no greater. A General Council indeed, in the strict meaning of the term, has never been assembled. Christianity and the jurisdiction of Constantine and his successors, were nearly commensurate; and therefore the earlier ones held in the east may in popular language deserve the title of Ecumenical. Yet at the first there were only 318 bishops, at the second and third not so many, and 600 at the fourth, and few at any of them from the western division of the empire. The subsequent ones, whether convened by Popes or German Emperors, were at the best but Synods of the western Patriarchate. The Greek and oriental churches were represented in none of them: and the extension of Christianity is continually rendering such meetings more and more difficult, now it has spread to a new world. Not to say that its division into different communities, which condemn each other as schismatical, or even heretical, renders it impracticable.

The sole object of a General Council would be to introduce uniformity of doctrine, for each national church is competent to determine its own rites and ceremonies, and to relax or strengthen, or in any way alter, its discipline. Now who would be allowed to summon one for the settlement of the tenets at issue between Protestants and Romanists? and even if we suppose that such a council met, what probability is there that the party against which it determined would abide by the decision?

The first Council was convened by Constantine in the second year of his reign, in the early part of the fourth century of Christianity. The Pope sent thither two Legates, but Hosius a Spanish bishop, who was in the Emperor's confidence, seems to have presided. It is memorable as establishing the orthodox scheme of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, for determining the time of keeping Easter, and laying down as a canon that a bishop should be consecrated by three of his own order.

The second, held at Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius, A. D. 381, completed the doctrine of the Trinity, by its declaration respecting the Holy Ghost.

The third, at Ephesus, was called by the younger Theodo-

sius, A.D. 431. Cyril of Alexandria, the imperious opponent of Nestorius, presided, and the behaviour of the assembly was so disgraceful, that it was dismissed by the Emperor with a severe rebuke. Still its determination of the double nature of our Lord has always been accepted by the Catholic Church.

The fourth General Council, which was held at Chalcedon, A.D. 431, condemned the errors of Eutyches, and so completed the orthodox scheme respecting the second Person of the Trinity. The decisions of these four General Councils are universally received.

The two next General Councils, A.D. 553, and 680, are of no great doctrinal importance; but controversialists ought to note, that Pope Vigilius, who refused his assent to the decrees of the first, at which he was present, was banished till he acquiesced in them; and that in the second, Pope Marcellus was condemned as a Monothelite. The next Council, which is rejected by the Greeks, and was opposed at the time by the Germans, French, and Britons, was held at Nice, A.D. 787, by the Empress Irene. It is no wonder that it is allowed by Rome, since it authorized the worship of images and of the cross, and denounced punishments against those who maintained that God was the sole object of adoration. The rest of the Councils were all held in the west, and convened by Popes, and can be regarded as no more than those of the Roman Patriarchate.

The next four, which met A.D. 1123, 1139, 1170, 1215, were held in the Lateran palace, and the last of them, by far the largest ever assembled, consisting of above 12,000 persons, broke up in less than a month, accepting without examination the dogmas presented for its acceptance by the overbearing Innocent III, and thereby confirming Transubstantiation, and Auricular Confession. Among them is the canon compelling secular powers to extirpate heretics under the penalty of excommunication, so odious in a Protestant country, that it has not only been described as obsolete and temporary, but even denied to be genuine or binding before Parliament by the Irish Roman Catholic prelates. It has notwithstanding been proved to be authentic, and is certainly confirmed by subsequent acts of the Papacy.

The three that follow at Lyons, A.D. 1245, and 1274, and at Vienne, A.D. 1311, were chiefly of a political character, but the last established the rule of St. Francis, and suppressed the order of Knights Templar.

A new series follows, of a very different description. That of Pisa, called A.D. 1409, by a body of Cardinals, deposed the two rival Popes, and nominated a third, and thus proved as well as asserted, the superiority of a Council. This decree was confirmed, A.D. 1416, by the Council of Constance, which was summoned, with papal consent, by the Emperor Sigismond, and sat upwards of three years, for the purpose of reforming the Church, but rendered itself infamous by its condemnation to the flames of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; and as death had saved our Wycliff from their fury, his remains were at its command disinterred, and thrown into the stream that flows by his grave at Lutterworth. The Council of Basil, A.D. 1431, following in the same course, was excommunicated by the Pope, who called a rival assembly, which at Florence effected an union of the Greek and Roman churches, which proved to be of very short duration. A fifth Lateran Council, A.D. 1512, was only of temporary importance; and even the greater ones are eclipsed by the celebrated Assembly at Trent, which completes the number, the proceedings of which have been minutely detailed; and which, while it produced a considerable reformation in manners and discipline, has been injurious to Rome, by stereotyping as it were its errors, and converting into irrevocable dogmas many Articles which had previously been no more than the private opinions of irresponsible individuals.

Our first position is, that "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes;" and this must be clear to all, who allow that the Sovereign is the head of the Church, that the Clergy owe him obedience, and that they ought not without his permission to leave the places in which they exercise their functions, in order to assist at meetings where canons may be decreed which he may not be disposed to confirm. I do not deny that the clergy may meet of their own accord

for such purposes in *pagan* countries, or *dissenting* Ministers in *Christian* ones; but this is a right which an established Church gives up on its endowment by the State. The General Councils, as we have seen, were all called by the Emperors; the Popes in the dark ages, when they had usurped so much temporal power, summoned several by their own authority, as the Lateran and that of Florence. The later Councils having assumed the power of deposing them, and proved their superiority in so decisive a manner, naturally excited apprehension. That of Trent was accordingly summoned with reluctance, and upon every plausible pretext suspended; and the Popes in future, to procure the concurrence of sovereigns on their side, made Concordats with them, by which the jurisdiction was generally given up, though those points, from which profit might be derived, were retained.

The second position is, that these Councils "may err, and have erred;" and that not only on minor points, as ceremonies, but even in the weightiest matters—"things pertaining unto God." That they may err, all reasonable persons, knowing that they are composed of men, with no promise of divine superintendence, will readily allow; that they *have* repeatedly erred, the anti-scriptural decrees of many of them *demonstrate* to all who are acquainted with the sacred volume. The greater part of the following Articles are directed against Purgatory, Transubstantiation, and other Roman errors, and these errors have been approved and ratified by the Lateran Councils, by those of Florence, Constance, and Basil, and above all by that of Trent. Nor can all even of these assemblies, which have a more plausible claim to the name of General Councils, be cleared from serious error; for the second Nicene Council decreed the worship of images. The Article concludes with declaring, in unison with its former declarations respecting the extent of the power of the Church, that the things ordained by Councils have neither strength nor authority, except what they derive from Scripture, nor did the earlier Councils pretend to any other.

Gregory Nazianzen openly pronounced an unfavourable

opinion of Councils. Athanasius disregarded a summons to that of Cæsarea, and retired from that of Syrmium, when he foresaw from the rancour of his opponents the result of its deliberations; and the bishops of the West refused to attend it. And after all, what is the true description of those Councils, which are so confidently called General? Look at the extent of Christ's universal Church, embracing as it does within its wide circuit the Christians of the whole world, and then tell us what we are to say of the greatest and fullest Council ever assembled in Christendom? Verily it is nothing better than a private meeting of Bishops, it is a mere provincial Synod. What though there be the assembling of Italy, and France, and Spain, and England, and Germany, and Denmark, and Scotland. Is it a General Council? Are its decrees to be registered as the consenting voice of the Church Catholic? Then where are Asia and Greece? Why are their Churches to be forgotten? But indeed the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ does not depend on Councils, or, as St. Paul writes, on man's judgment. Without Councils and against Councils, God is able to advance his kingdom[d].

[d] Jewel's Apology.

LECTURE XV.

ARTICLE XXII.

OF PURGATORY.

The Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

This Article is of a miscellaneous character, for though it only is entitled "Of Purgatory," it condemns together with it as unreasonable and as unscriptural, pardons, the worship of images and relics, and the invocation of saints. All are comprehended as *one* fond thing, probably because the others have been chiefly used as means of shortening the endurance of the first. Of pardons, or indulgences as they are more commonly called, there can be no question; and adoration is chiefly offered to saints through the medium of images or relics, to prevail upon them to assist in delivering souls out of purgatory.

It is here called the Romish doctrine. In the Article of 1552, it was that of the Schoolmen; and if that word had been retained, the Romanists might have said, we do not defend the judgment of the Schoolmen in every particular. '*Fond*' in this sense is obsolete, but is explained by the corresponding Latin futilis. It is said to have been "vainly invented," inanitur conficta, that is, unsupported by reason, as contradistinguished from the following assertion, that it is "grounded upon no warrant of Scripture." And not only is it not supported by the word of God, but rather repugnant

to it, which is equivalent in modern English to, nay contradicts, Immò verbo Dei contradicit, but perniciose of the original Article is dropped.

It is admitted by all[a], that remission of sins cannot be obtained, except by the intervention of a full and exact satisfaction; but what that satisfaction is, and by whom rendered, which makes up for the injury offered to God, is matter of debate between the Romanist and the Protestant. The former maintains, that whoever sins after baptism, obtains through Christ not an absolute remission, but a merciful commutation of punishment. For according to him, after guilt is remitted, the very same punishment of the bodily senses must be endured by the sinner as in hell, only taking away its eternity. Divine justice requires, that when we are freed from guilt by Christ, we should be punished either in this life or in purgatory; now he maintains, that satisfaction is made by works of penance, imposed according to the judgment of the priest, voluntarily undertaken by the penitent or inflicted from without, and in requiring satisfaction, he thinks that God acts so strictly, that he requires a full measure of the punishment due, and whatever the sinner has left unpaid here, must be paid in purgatory. We, on the contrary, maintain, that our Lord's sacrifice expunged both guilt and punishment, and that the punishments anciently enjoined to penitents were imposed not to satisfy divine justice, but the offended Church; that works voluntarily undertaken were not payments of satisfaction, but exercises of humility and mortification; and that the misfortunes that follow are either the natural consequences of sin, or sent to mark God's displeasure, and to improve the sinner. We deny that acts of penance, or any human works, can compensate for the injury done to God. And this is proved, first, by the definition of satisfaction, which is giving an equivalent for an equivalent; secondly, from the quality of our works, the best of which are not free from imperfection; and even if they were, are God's gift, and, as such, wholly due to Him on the mere score of our

[a] Bishop Davenant's eighth Determination.

creation, can never go to the discharge of a new debt. Thirdly, we confirm our cause by the consideration of the divine remission of sins, for the remission made by God is always entire, and it should be such, that when it is obtained, the sinner can feel that he has obtained peace with God. Fourthly, the truth of our opinion appears from the perfection of the satisfaction which Christ himself offered to the Father in the name of all believers; for it is most certain that our Redeemer offered a price abundantly sufficient to expiate the guilt and punishment of our sins. If therefore the Father should require satisfaction from the members of Christ, which they have paid to the last farthing in their head, he would twice exact payment, and thus do a manifest injury both to the Redeemer and the redeemed. With respect to the argument from God's inflicting punishment on Moses, David, and others, after their sins were forgiven, we are to look to the end of punishment in considering this question. If a judge order an offender's hand to be cut off, it is as a punishment; if a physician, he does it to prevent a greater evil; so here afflictions are sent by God not as a judge to take vengeance, but as a kind father to remedy the evils of our nature.

Purgatory, however, is so congenial to the natural mind, that even in Protestant communities there are many disposed to embrace it from a vague notion, that though not good enough to be received immediately after death into a state of bliss, they are too good to be sent for ever into punishment. Affliction in this life has often an improving and reforming efficacy; and it is conceived that (when temptations are removed, and the truths of religion, which were objects only of faith, will have become to the most sceptical undeniable realities) sufferings after death will complete what is wanting to purge the soul from the alloy of sin, which renders it incapable of admission into the regions of the blessed. If indeed man could work out his own salvation, it would be no unreasonable supposition, that having accomplished the work in part here, the divine goodness will grant him time for its completion in another state of existence. Christianity however, which teaches that

he can be justified by faith alone, and that Christ is the only Saviour, subverts the foundation of this doctrine. Purgatory originated in the natural feelings of man, and with many other human inventions has been introduced into the Church, which accommodated its worship to the prejudices of superstitious converts, by adopting many of the ceremonies to which they had been accustomed as heathen. Plato has an intermediate state, in which guilty souls remained till "the foul crimes done in their days of nature were burnt and purged away," and they were through suffering qualified for the society of the blessed in the Elysian fields. But this was not the invention of philosophers, it is but the refinement and embellishment of the popular belief, which had been long before embodied in the Odyssey of Homer. This heathen purgatory, as the name implies, was designed to purify the departed spirit for a future life of innocent enjoyment, by the correction of its sinful propensities; and as the Deity is not to be limited either as to the efficacy of the means or their duration, it would seem to follow, that a time would come when the purpose of punishment would be in each individual accomplished, and that therefore all would become finally holy and happy. Such was the belief of Origen; and it has been adopted by some of our latitudinarian divines; but Scripture has spoken so positively of the *eternal* punishment of the wicked, that it is impossible to explain it away. His opinion has been condemned by the Church; and when purgatory was introduced into Christianity, it was with this important modification, that the decidedly wicked were left to the torments of hell, and that persons guilty only of venial, that is pardonable, sins were reserved for this temporary punishment. It was evidently much promoted by the custom which grew up in the third century of prayers for the dead; and it was favoured in a degree by the great oracle of the west, Augustine, who in his youth had embraced several of the Manichean errors. He had acquired the idea of a purgatorial fire, but went no farther than to say it did not seem incredible. In other places, however, he expressed himself decidedly against it; and when he treated of the Limbus

Infantum, that is, the abode of children dying unbaptized, he argued against a third state. After his time, the notion began to prevail through the influence of St. Gregory; and it was promoted by legends of visions and fictitious miracles. Still even in the twelfth century it was no more than a pious opinion, and was not established as an Article of faith before the Council of Florence. Though the offspring of eastern philosophy, it had never been acknowledged by the Greek Church, till the delegates, who attended that assembly in the hope of thereby prolonging the independence of their falling empire, were prevailed upon by Pope Eugenius to assent to it. Nevertheless on their return home they retracted, and cast themselves on the mercy of their offended brethren. At the rival Council of Basil, which the Pope now opposed, they had said, "we own no temporary punishment by fire, for we received no such doctrine by tradition, nor does the Eastern church profess it." And they added, "it ought to be cast out of the Church as tending to slacken the endeavours of the diligent, and hindering their doing their utmost in this life, since another purification is expected after it." Bishop Fisher, who suffered under Henry VIII. candidly confesses, that purgatory had been rarely if at all mentioned by the ancients; and it may be shown, as is owned by other competent Roman Catholic authorities, (what fair judges must allow to be fatal to their cause,) that no one Council or even Father for five centuries taught it.

They had therefore recourse to legends, which are still current among the lower classes in Roman Catholic countries, and men of piety and learning seem to have believed them beyond the period of the Reformation. For the celebrated controversialist Cardinal Bellarmine, the contemporary of our James I. says, "Since many persons will not believe what they never saw, it has pleased Almighty God sometimes to raise his servants from the dead, and to send them to announce to the living what they have really beheld." I extract an instance which he gives from the life of St. Ludgardis, to whom Innocent III. is said to have appeared shortly after his decease, encircled with flames, telling her who he was, and the three reasons for his sufferings. "They would," he

continued, "have consigned me to eternal punishment, had I not through the intercession of the most pious Mother of God, to whom I founded a monastery, repented on the point of death. As it is, I shall be tortured in the most horrible manner till the day of judgment; and that I am now permitted to solicit your prayers, is a boon which the Mother of mercy has obtained for me from her Son." The Cardinal's remark is, "This instance always affects me with the greatest terror; for if a Pontiff entitled to so much praise, one who to all human observation was not merely a man of integrity, but of exemplary sanctity, if even he so narrowly escaped hell, and as it is, must suffer the most excruciating torments till the day of judgment, what Prelate is there who does not tremble[b]?"

The great Poet of the middle ages, in his description of hell and purgatory, seems to have exhausted the catalogue of bodily suffering; but the picture is not drawn exclusively from his own imagination, for he had several predecessors, who have graphically described from reputed eyewitnesses the region in which the departed spirits are undergoing their appointed torments. We have a remarkable description in Matthew Paris's history of a descent into purgatory, from one of its entrances, at Lough Derg in Ireland; and Bede[c] much earlier tells us of a pilgrim led by angels into a valley filled with human souls, which were incessantly whirled about by a tempest, from the extreme of heat to the intensest cold. And such tales were probably current among our ancestors in the time of Shakespeare, since he makes one of his characters, under the fear of execution, speak of the spirit doomed

> To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
> In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
> To be imprisoned in the viewless winds,
> And blown with restless violence round about
> The pendent world.

[b] The reader of history will hardly recognise in the Cardinal's panegyric the arrogant Pontiff who excommunicated the King of France, and humiliated our King John; and both decreed the extirpation of heretics, and encouraged the cruel persecutions carried on in the south of France, at the instigation of St. Dominic, the inventor of the Inquisition.

[c] Bede v. 19.

Fire, however, is the element which is supposed to be usually employed; and Thomas Aquinas tells us, that it is the same in its qualities as that of hell. These Schoolmen enter into minute particulars, as if they spoke not from conjecture, but from personal knowledge. Thus they lay down by common consent, that there are four gulphs in the interior of the earth; the first for the damned, the second for those who are to be purified, the third for unbaptized infants, and the fourth for the righteous who died before the crucifixion, which is now empty, the Saviour having freed them, and taken them with him to heaven.

The Council of Trent seems rather to take the doctrine of purgatory for granted as fixed by Fathers and Councils, than to define it; all who say that sins are so remitted in Christ as to leave no temporal punishment due, it anathematizes and it decrees that the sound doctrine shall be preached, setting aside all nice and subtle questions, but does not say wherein that sound doctrine consists. In the Catechism however, drawn up by order of that Council, it is called a purgatorial fire. The doctrine is, I believe, thus fairly laid down by Burnet. Every man is liable both to temporal and to eternal punishment for his sins; the latter is pardoned on account of the death and intercession of Christ, but the former must be expiated by acts of penance, and such sufferings as God shall think fit to lay upon him; and if not expiated in this life, they must be in another after death, that is, in purgatory.

An attempt is made to support it from the New Testament, but the texts themselves will show without much comment with how little success. I find no more than three. The first is our Lord's declaration concerning blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, *that it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come*[b]. Hence the Romanist infers, that some sins remain to be forgiven after death, and that there must be a purgatory; yet that, upon the showing of his own Church, is the abode of those whose sins are already forgiven, and the object of enduring its torments is not pardon, but satisfaction. Sins are not

[b] Matt. xii. 32.

there remitted, but punished, and punished after remittance. Nay more, they are punished because they are remitted, for if they were not, the sinner would not go to purgatory, but to hell. They should also recollect, that the world to come cannot exist till time has ceased, and with it purgatory. In fact, our Lord here adverts to a Jewish notion, that some sins upon repentance received immediate forgiveness, others not till the day of expiation, but all would be blotted out by death, since every Israelite would be admitted into future happiness. To correct this error, our Lord says that this offence will not be forgiven, under the dispensation of the Law or of the Gospel. This is equivalent to saying that it will never be forgiven, and so is the saying recorded without a figure, in the parallel passages in the other Gospels[c]. The second is taken from a figurative speech of our Lord: *Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing*[d]. The farthings are venial sins, the payment is human satisfaction. There can be no commutation, the debtor must pay the whole in his own person; and the prayers and masses therefore offered by others can be of no avail. However, the prison, as the context shows, is hell, and so it is maintained to be by the Fathers, and by the Roman Catholic commentator Maldonatus. In conformity with which Augustine writes: "when we shall have departed hence, there will be neither room for contrition nor satisfaction, nothing will then remain except the judge, the officer, and the prison. He shall never go out, because those in hell owe an infinite punishment, which it is impossible that they should ever satisfy. The third is perhaps somewhat more specious, if it be detached from the context. *If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest, for the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is; if any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward; if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire*[e]. The passage

[c] Mark iii. 29. Luke xii. 10. [d] Matt. v. 25. [e] 1 Cor. iii. 8.

is far more favourable to Origen's fancy, that all were to be prepared for heaven by passing through the fire, for every man is mentioned good no less than bad. Paul and Apollos who built gold and silver, as well as those who built wood, hay, and stubble; the fire is therefore probatorial not purgatorial, and is expressly said to be that of the last day. If we turn to the context, we shall find that the passage is thus introduced. *Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one. And every one shall receive reward according to his own labour.* And there can be no doubt that the Apostle is speaking not of private Christians but of ministers, not of works but of doctrines; and this is so clear, that Bellarmine and some of the ablest advocates of Rome support our interpretation.

A passage from the second Book of Maccabees, in which it is declared to be a good and holy thing to make a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin, is familiar to those who have visited Roman Catholic churches, as it is frequently inscribed upon the chests for alms for the poor souls in purgatory. To understand it, we must refer to the context, which shows that Judas having found things consecrated to idols under the clothes of the slain, besought God that this sin might wholly be put out of remembrance; and having made a collection, he sent it as a sin-offering to Jerusalem. This might have been offered for himself and his living soldiers, that judgment might not come upon them, because he had not carefully corrected the idolatrous propensities of his army, and could hardly have been offered in behalf of the slain, as there was no expiation for idolatry. Granting however that it was offered for the dead, it could not have been to release them from purgatory, as they died in mortal sin, and the object must have been not the mitigation of present punishment, but a future resurrection. The opinion however of an author whose work we do not admit into the canon of Scripture, and who requests his readers to be indulgent to the imperfections of his narrative, is not entitled to an authority which he does not claim. Nor are we bound to yield to that of Judas, who, if he believed in

purgatory, must have derived his belief, not from the Law, but from a heathen source. Passages such as these, and I am not aware that the Romanists bring forward more, are enough to satisfy us, that Purgatory is not a Scriptural doctrine, but that being adopted in a dark age, when the Bible was scarcely known, it became expedient, when it was called in question, to examine the volume for texts that might seem to favour it. A real knowledge of the nature of Christian redemption, must convince us, that purgatory is "a fond thing," and that it is justly declared to be "repugnant to God's word." It is avowedly built upon the distinction of venial and mortal sins, a human invention for which there is no warrant in that word, for the greatest sin will be forgiven to the penitent, the least, unless repented of and pardoned, will consign us to eternal punishment; but if this foundation be removed, the superstructure necessarily falls, and how insufficient it is to bear such a weighty structure, will appear at once from the received opinion of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. In many cases it is merely a question of degree, as this passage from Dr. Bailey's work used at Maynooth shows. How great must be the quantity of a thing stolen, in order to constitute the theft a mortal sin? After some remark on the difficulty of determining it, he observes, that theologians are accustomed, with a view to the settlement of the question, to divide men into four classes, according to their pecuniary means. If the subject were less serious, such decisions would be ridiculous. To steal sixty pence from the wealthiest would be a mortal sin, it follows, that if a thief takes but a penny less, his sin is venial. In the former case he will be condemned to hell, in the latter he will only undergo a temporary punishment in purgatory! The Council of Trent declares, that if any shall say that after the grace of justification has been received, the offence is so remitted to the penitent sinner, and the guilt of eternal punishment so effaced, that there remains no guilt of temporal punishment to be suffered either in this world or in purgatory before admission can be obtained to the kingdom of Heaven, let him be accursed. The Bible on the con-

trary declares divine forgiveness to be immediate, full, and unconditional on the part of God. *I am he that blotteth out thy iniquities for mine own sake, and I will not remember thy sins*[f]. *I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more*[g]. And, *If the wicked will turn from all his sins, and do that which is lawful and right, all his transgressions shall not be mentioned to him*[h]. How can we fear, that what God will neither mention nor remember, he will punish? Our Saviour has taught us to pray, *Forgive us our debts*, (meaning our sins,) *as we forgive our debtors*[i]. But can any man be said to forgive a debt to another, and yet require the payment of it in whole or in part? Does that deserve the name of forgiveness, which supposes that we must suffer, till the uttermost farthing for which we are accountable is exacted. *Their sins and iniquities will I remember no more;* the Apostle's deduction from which is, *there is no more an offering for sin: having therefore boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, that is to say, his flesh; and having a High Priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience;* a confidence not grounded upon our own presumed merits, or those of others, who though far better than us, have themselves need of pardon, but on the *only foundation laid in Zion*, the all-sufficient sacrifice of the Son of God. *The blood of Jesus Christ*, we are assured, *cleanseth from all sins; and if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity.* The doctrine of purgatory therefore derogates from the sufficiency of his sacrifice, and contradicts these and similar texts. We are also expressly taught, that the true believer is reconciled to God, that *there is no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus*, that such *have passed from death unto life;* and St. Paul triumphantly exclaims, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect!* He was persuaded that nothing should have power to separate such from the

[f] Isa. xliii. 25. [g] Jerem. xxxi. 34. [h] Ezek. xviii. 21.
[i] Matt. vi. 12.

love of God in Christ[k]. The New Testament also, when speaking of the condition of men after this life, has not the most distant allusion to any third state; there are but two classes, those that go into eternal happiness, and those that are condemned to eternal misery; that happiness and that misery will commence, there seems reason to believe, immediately after death, though both will not be completed till the resurrection, when the soul will be reunited with the body, fitted in the one case to endure *the fire prepared for the Devil and his angels*, in the other assimilated to the glorified body of the Redeemer, and qualified to *enter into his joy*. The parable describes Lazarus as carried immediately into Abraham's bosom, the common phrase among the Jews for the abode of pious souls departed; and into this paradise our Lord promised to the penitent thief immediate admission, though according to the Roman doctrine he ought to have been sent to purgatory, for he had made no satisfaction as to the temporal punishment of his sins, since he died after a vicious life, upon a very short and sudden repentance. When the Apostle Paul[l] contrasts our present earthly tabernacle with the house eternal with which we are to be clothed, the discourse implies there will be no intermediate state of suffering: and to be absent from the body and present with the Lord are identified. His language shows that he is not speaking of any personal peculiar privilege, but of that which is common to believers; and to the same effect spoke the voice from Heaven which was heard by St. John, *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth* (or immediately): *yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours.* The people of God, whether *they live or die, are the Lord's.* We may then justly affirm that the tenet "is repugnant to Scripture."

The Romish doctrine of purgatory is offensive to the sincere believer, because it eclipses the glory of his Redeemer, and restricts by unauthorized limitations the freeness and fulness of the pardon which He has purchased for his people, by his own most precious blood. It cruelly draws off the mind of the dying sinner from the only refuge,

[k] Rom. viii. 1—33. [l] 2 Cor. v.

and while it sustains the guilty with false hopes, it darkens the deathbed of the humble Christian, who is not permitted to feel *peace and joy in believing*, for even to him the road to heaven is through purgatory, and the dart of Death which Christ removed, the church of Rome replaces; and restores him, whom the pious believer who is waiting for his Lord welcomes as the messenger of peace, to the office of the king of terrors. We sometimes hear thoughtless Protestants say, that the Roman Catholic religion must be a comfortable one to those who can bring themselves to believe it, and refer to purgatory as an instance. They are perhaps not aware, that, in the opinion of those who believe in it, its torments exceed the worst we can imagine; and if any of its inhabitants were permitted

> "to tell the secrets of that prison-house,
> He could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
> Would harrow up the soul."

To the terrified but still impenitent sinner, temporary punishment, however long, is no doubt a less dreadful prospect than eternal; but to any who have scriptural grounds for believing that they "die in the Lord," purgatory is an unjustifiable substitution of misery, for a reasonable hope. Manifold are the pernicious consequences that have been so ingeniously yet inconsistently deduced from the doctrine of purgatory. I say inconsistently, for the same authority that made and peopled purgatory, has invented keys to open it; and while it maintains the necessity of purification, allows the degree of torture to be lessened, and the period to be shortened by the agency of others, making the exaction of the uttermost farthing necessary, but allowing it to be paid either by the debtor, or by any other competent and willing. The simple statement of so strange and monstrous a doctrine, though it was familiar to and constantly acted upon by our ancestors, is now so little known, that it might be thought an extravagant caricature. I prefer therefore giving it in the authorized terms of the Council of Trent. "There is a purgatory, and the souls detained therein are assisted by the prayers of the faithful, and more especially by the acceptable sacrifice

of the altar. Since the power of granting indulgences hath been bestowed by Christ upon the Church, and such power, thus divinely imparted, hath been exercised by her even in the earliest times, this holy Synod teaches and enjoins, that the use of indulgences, as very salutary to Christian people, and approved of by the sacred councils, be retained in the Church; and pronounces an anathema on such as shall affirm them to be useless, or deny the power of granting them."

Tetzel, a notorious profligate, the chief agent for retailing these indulgences in Saxony, whose scandalous recommendation of them led to the Reformation, issued this form of absolution.

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy Passion. And I, by his authority, and by that of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures in whatever manner they may be incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the Holy Ghost extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy Sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at Baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death."

Pardons are, I believe, no longer offered for sale in this promiscuous manner in Europe; but, at all events, they used to be exported to Spanish America, before it assumed independence of the mother country, and were found to be a most profitable article of commerce; and a Church that glories in an assumed infallibility, as she boasts, never changes. Her worse doctrines, in more enlightened and especially in Protestant countries, may be prudently kept out of sight, but where it

is safe, they appear in all their original deformity. Every traveller must have noticed repeatedly grants of plenary indulgence conferred upon favoured places of worship; and the last jubilee, revived after a considerable suspension, sufficiently declares, that Rome is far from renouncing her lofty pretensions. The mass is not the only means employed for delivering souls out of purgatory; the supererogatory works of the saints compose an immense treasure of merit, out of which inexhaustible source the Pope is empowered to assign to such as he deems fit the portion suitable to his guilt. Such a doctrine we have already seen, as our XIVth Article declares, cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety. Even if the saints could have done more than was required for their own salvation, how is the Pope entitled to transfer them? but with the superfluous merits themselves, the foundation of pardons, the whole superstructure falls. As may be supposed, the only resource of the Romanist here is tradition; there are no texts that can even be perverted to give it plausibility, as is allowed by their own writers. Thus one with much simplicity observes, "Many things are known to us of which the ancients were altogether ignorant, as purgatory, indulgences, &c.:" and Cardinal Caietan remarks, "if we could have any certainty concerning the origin of indulgences, it would help us much in the disquisition of the truth of purgatory; but we have no knowledge of it, either from the holy Scriptures, or on the authority of ancient doctors, Greek or Latin. Any doctrine or practice, however absurd or gross, must have had a plausible beginning; thus, this of indulgences grew out of the discipline of the primitive church in this manner. It had been the practice from the first, to exclude those guilty of great offences from a participation in the Lord's Supper, and from communion in other church privileges; and it is clear that the same authority might on the contrition of the offending party revoke this excommunication. The sentence on the incestuous Corinthian, and its removal, is an Apostolical case in point. In the course of time, penances began to be inflicted upon the guilty, as proofs of penitence. As ignorance and superstition increased, these were commuted for

money, to be laid out in works of charity and piety; and thus the bishops commenced the sale of pardons or indulgences. When, says Mosheim, the Roman Pontiffs cast an eye upon the treasure thus rapidly accumulating, they thought proper to limit the episcopal power of remitting penalties, and took almost exclusive possession of this profitable traffic. Thus the Court of Rome became the great repository of indulgences, and by degrees published not only an universal, but also a plenary remission of all the temporal penalties which the Church had annexed to certain transgressions. They then took a still more important step, by extending it to the pains that were due in purgatory for such as had not been remitted in this life; and in support of it was invented the doctrine of supererogatory merit, which was modified by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century. In 1100, Urban II. to encourage the Crusade which had been undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, granted a remission of sins to all who should take up arms for the purpose. Some of his successors granted the same indulgence to such as should serve by substitute; and gradually to other objects. It is generally known, that the indulgences which provoked the indignation of Luther, were issued to enable Leo X. to rebuild in a magnificent style the Church of St. Peter at Rome, so that this noble edifice, the largest and in general estimation the most beautiful ever consecrated to the worship of the true God, may be regarded as a memorial of the Reformation! I mention as an instance of these papal grants of indulgence, a deliverance of three years and a hundred and sixty days from purgatory to all who attended the Council of Trent. Boniface VIII. celebrated, in A.D. 1300, the first jubilee, with a view to the extension of such pardons, and granted a plenary indulgence to such as came to Rome on this occasion, and visited St. Peter's Church once, for thirty successive days. This papal jubilee was found so advantageous, that the interval was shortened, and it is now kept each quarter of the century.

The chief of the means for delivering souls out of purgatory we see was the saying of masses, that is, repeating

a solitary commemoration of the last Supper, not for the benefit of the priest who offered, but of the soul in whose behalf he acted. The priest was paid for the service, and in proportion to the number offered. Not only were they paid, but monasteries were founded, for the express purpose of employing ecclesiastics continually in this way; admission into heaven was purchased with money, religion was turned into a trade, and the house of God, under the new dispensation as under the old, became *a den of robbers*. Men were made to believe, that by the virtue of masses, which could be bought, souls were redeemed out of purgatory: and tales of apparitions, of tormented and of delivered souls, were published with such a wonderful effect, that in two or three centuries, endowments were so increased that if the scandals of the Church on the one hand, and the statutes of Mortmain on the other, had not restrained the profuseness that the world was wrought up to, it is not easy to imagine how far this might have gone[1].

The use made of purgatory to enrich and to augment the influence of the Clergy, rendered it in its practical bearings one of the most pernicious errors of the times, and the excess to which it was carried, and the effrontery with which indulgences were sold, by exciting the virtuous indignation of Luther, originated the Reformation. A doctrine so gratifying to the pride and covetousness of the clergy, so deadening to the moral sense of the laity, and so satisfactory to those who, while they still clung to their darling sins, would cherish the hope of final salvation, was well calculated when the Bible was closed, and superstition triumphed, to meet with universal acceptance. The dark ages from the time of Bede, supplies us with legends designed to work upon the feelings, and to stimulate believers to increasing charity, if charity we may call the alms bestowed on the poor souls in purgatory, for in many instances it was only a refined selfishness. How many churches, colleges, and hospitals, were founded upon the express condition, that the persons benefited were to pray for the souls of their founders and their relations! A Spanish proverb truly says

[1] Burnet on the Articles.

of one who by will so appropriates his property, that he makes his soul his heir. There is scarcely, I may venture to say, the instrument of endowment of any Roman catholic charitable institution, in which this is not declared to be the founder's principal motive. We sometimes hear even Protestants expatiate on the piety and charity of the middle ages, and on the comparative selfishness of the Christians of our own day. But they are generally persons little acquainted with the active and expansive philanthropy of their countrymen. Our ancestors, working, be it remembered, (as much of their architecture shows,) through a length of time, anticipated us in slowly providing places of worship, yet new churches are now rapidly rising where required by an increasing population. Surely our hospitals and schools may be favourably contrasted with their monasteries; and their fraternities are surpassed by our Societies for Missions abroad, for the promotion of Christian knowledge at home, and for the cheap circulation of religious works, and above all, of the Word of God. But I would not chiefly dwell on the amount of the expenditure. It is the motive that sanctifies the gift; and though some Protestants may act on the Romish principle of merit, and others give from the impulse of their feelings, we have reason to hope that it is the love *of Christ which constrains* many to live to Him, by feeding the hungry, providing for the sick, and teaching the ignorant the way of salvation, for his sake.

We next condemn, for the same reasons, the worshipping of images and relics and the invocation of saints, which are naturally connected, and are indeed joined together not in this Article only, but also by the Council of Trent. It will be most convenient to consider the last first, as the other two must stand or fall with it. Among the heathen, as St. Paul tells the Corinthians[m], *there are gods many and lords many;* but to Christians *there is but one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ;* and when giving Timothy[n] instructions for offering prayers and intercessions for all men, he reminds him, that as there *is one God*, so

[m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] 1 Tim. ii.

there is *one Mediator, the man Christ Jesus.* Nevertheless, the Council of Trent presumes to declare those accursed who assert either that the saints who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven do not pray for men, and that invoking them to pray for us is idolatry, or that it is contrary to the honour of this one God and this one Mediator. Who then are these saints, and what are their transcendent merits, that they should be introduced into the office of our great and sole Priest, and have a share assigned to them, however small, in the finished salvation which he accomplished once for all as a victim upon the altar of the cross! Saint is a term that ought to be familiar to us, since it is St. Paul's ordinary appellation of believers. We now only use it as a substantive, and speak of places as holy, though in conformity with the Latin and French idiom we have a few instances, as in Saint Sepulchre and Saint Cross. But living persons ought to be holy in both senses, not only consecrated to God's service, but *sanctified by his Spirit, to show forth his praises for calling them out of darkness into his marvellous light.* All real believers, who *are God's workmanship, created unto good works,* ought to be saints; but the term has attained a technical meaning, and would not be applied to any living Christian, however deserving of the title. We confer it on such as have suffered for righteousness' sake, not only martyrs, but confessors, and on those of ancient times, of whom we judge, with or without reason, that the world was not worthy. First come the Apostles and Evangelists; and custom has given it to the Fathers, that is to all the orthodox Greek and Latin theological writers, but certainly with no more propriety than we should extend it to eminent modern divines. These are followed by saints of a more questionable character, for it includes almost all the Christians of the middle ages who were founders of religious orders, or eminent for their writings, or austerities, or superstition, or enthusiasm. There are several whose history is doubtful, and even some whose existence has been disputed. In process of time they were not only canonized by public opinion, but by a formal decree of Bishops; and at length the privilege was taken from them, and assigned

by the second Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, to the Pope, who continues to exercise it down to the present time. Reason teaches, that the Creator and Governor of the world is the sole proper object of adoration, and, as might be expected, his revealed will ratifies the teaching. Our goodness extendeth not to Jehovah; and the prayers of the holiest of our fallen race, which cannot procure even their own salvation, are only accepted through the one Intercessor, *the Son of his love*[o]. There is no record under the Jewish dispensation of a prayer addressed to angel or departed saint, not to Abraham, the father of the faithful and the friend of God, or to Moses, the revealer of the Law. The rule was without exception, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will hear thee, and thou shalt glorify me*[p]; and its advocate will search in vain for permission in the New, in the opening of which our Lord, invited to do homage to Satan, does not confute him by showing the invalidity of his pretensions, but in his rebuke condemns the adoration of any created being, by citing from Deuteronomy; *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*[q]. Express condemnation of errors, which did not yet exist, cannot reasonably be expected, but in condemning the worship of false gods, no reserve is made for it as limited to the adoration of the heathen. When under a show of *humility and will worship*[r], the Gnostics would have brought into the Church of Colossé the worship of angels, (and that we may presume only with the inferior honour which the more enlightened Romanists are content to claim for the saints,) St. Paul charges them to beware of *that vain philosophy*. And we may conclude what would have been Peter's censure of the invocation of saints, from his saying to the centurion, who fell at his feet and worshipped him, whatever he might mean by that mark of respect, *Stand up, I myself am also a man*[s]. No doubt he would have regarded his worship as profanation, and would reject with horror now the prayers of Christians; and even when St. John prepared to worship the Angel, who had made to him

[o] Coloss. i. 13. [p] Ps. l. 15. [q] Matt. iv. 10. [r] Coloss. ii. 18. [s] Acts x. 26.

such glorious discoveries of the future, his homage, which we can hardly suppose was more than of the inferior kind, was not accepted, but the answer was, *See thou do it not: worship God*[t]. And so unfavourable to their view do Roman Catholics feel the fact when fairly exhibited to be, that in their improved "Abridgment of Christian doctrine," St. John's attempt to worship is made to answer the question, Is it lawful to honour the angels and saints? but the angel's rebuke of him for the attempt is omitted. In the same spirit, it is well known, that the second Commandment does not appear in their Catechisms; and to keep up the number, the tenth is divided into two; a clumsy contrivance, for coveting is the same sin, whether the object be a wife or a house; and it is remarkable, that in the edition of the Decalogue as repeated in Deuteronomy the order is inverted, and house follows wife.

Worship which is forbidden to Angels cannot innocently be offered to men. The Hebrews are exhorted to *remember them which had the rule over them*[u], (who were now dead,) and *to follow their faith*, but there is no suggestion to pray to them. Paul, opposing the worship of angels, enlarges on the glory of Him, *in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, the head of all principality and power, in whom believers are complete*[x]; and his willingness is equal to his sufficiency; his human nature enables him to sympathize with us as a brother, as much as any departed saint; why then, even if it were lawful, should we in a false humility seek for any other advocate, invited as we are to come *boldly* through the Saviour to a throne of grace, since that Saviour has taught us to ask in his name, and in no other, and encourages importunity? And the Apostle Paul declares, that *as there is only one God*, so there is only *one Mediator;* a mediator, be it noted, not only of reconciliation, but of intercession, as the context shows[y], for he is there directing prayers to be made for all men. It is the honourable and consolatory privilege of the Christian to address the Lord of heaven and earth as his Father, why then in the spirit of bondage apply to others to prevail on

[t] Rev. xix. 10. [u] Heb. xiii. 7. [x] Coloss. ii. 9, 10. [y] 1 Tim. ii.

him who already *waiteth to be gracious? Through the Son we have access by one Spirit unto the Father;* and, *if any man sin, we have*—what? ten thousand mediating saints? no, but—*an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous;* and he is our advocate on the only basis—his atonement—on which intercession can have any value, for *he is the propitiation for our sins*[z]. *He is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him*[a]; and because we *are* sons, hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying —not Hail Mary, or Queen of Heaven and of Angels, pray for us, but—*Abba Father*[b]! we are come at once, without any intervention, *to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling*[c]. When the Reformation opened the Bible to the people, the alternative was before the Church of Rome, either to bring up her practices to the Word of God, or to bring down His Word to the level of her practices. She, worthy of the name and principles of a corrupt and apostate communion, chose the latter, wresting it, with all the ingenuity of sophistry and perverted erudition, to make it speak a non-natural sense. A system so revolting to reason and so offensive to God, who describes himself as a *jealous God*[d], who will not give his honour to another, could find no converts among his ancient people, to whom was ever present the text, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God*[e]; and must have been equally odious among the Gentiles, who *had turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God*[f]. Like the Jews before them, they were treated by the heathen polytheists as atheists: and their refusal of any worship to a created being may be established from the writings both of themselves and of their adversaries.

Thus an Epistle written by the Church of Smyrna, before the end of the second century, shows, that the invocation of saints would not have been endured in that early age. It refers to the Jews, at whose suggestion Polycarp's body had been burnt, lest, as they pretended, it should be taken by the Christians and worshipped. "These men know that we can neither forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of

[z] 1 John ii. 2. [a] Heb. vii. 25. [b] Gal. iv. 6. [c] Heb. xii. 24.
[d] Exod. xx. 5. [e] Deut. vi. 4. [f] 1 Thess. i. 9.

all that are saved, the innocent for the guilty, nor worship any other; him truly being the Son of God we adore, but the martyrs and disciples and followers of the Lord we justly love for that love which they have expressed towards their King and Master, of whose happiness God grant that we may partake, and that we may learn by their example[g]." In the Council of Laodicea, the worship of angels was condemned as a secret idolatry, and forsaking of Christ; and the first apologists for Christianity arraign the worship of demons, and of such as once lived on the earth, in a style that showed that they did not apprehend that the argument could be turned against them, for worshipping either angels or departed saints; and when the Arian controversy arose, the invocation of Christ was urged in proof of his divinity; "for none," says Athanasius, "would pray to receive any thing from angels, or any other creatures:" and at the time it was beginning, the fifth century, Augustine warns the Church against the practice; "Let not the worship of dead men be any part of our religion; they ought to be so honoured that we may imitate them, but not worship them." The practice was promoted by the custom of praying for the dead, which was introduced as early as the third century, not as many think for souls in purgatory, but for those who though not yet received into heaven, were believed to be already in some hidden receptacle in the enjoyment of imperfect bliss, which God was entreated to increase. Among those they prayed for were the most eminent departed saints, as the Apostles and our Lord's Virgin Mother; and this can be proved by early liturgies still extant. And it was by an extraordinary misconception, that prayers for their benefit were turned into prayers for their help. Though the practice became universal, it is difficult to ascertain its commencement. It probably originated in the custom of delivering orations in honour of martyrs on the anniversaries of their decease. In these declamatory panegyrics occurred addresses to the commemorated saints to intercede with God for those who were now honouring his memory, but it was with the qualification, if they were

[g] Euseb. iv. 15.

conscious of what was passing in this world. In process of time the qualification was dropped, and there was no scruple in entreating them; and 'Pray for us' became the common language of Liturgies addressed to a long and ever-increasing catalogue of saints, but though still called upon as intercessors, they were also soon addressed as capable of themselves to bestow spiritual blessings. St. Bernard, who is entitled the last of the Fathers, and whose less objectionable works have been praised by some Protestants, has written homilies in honour of the Virgin; and this short specimen will show how the piety of the middle ages had unhappily been turned aside from its proper object. "There is none more useful to us than Mary, to whom we are to have recourse as an advocate with Him, and as the woman[h] who was to bruise the serpent's head. Remember, O most pious Virgin! it is a thing unheard of that thou ever forsakest those who have recourse to thee. Encouraged with this hope and confidence, I, a most miserable sinner, cast myself at thy sacred feet, humbly beseeching that thou wilt adopt me as thy son for ever, and take upon thee the care of my salvation." The first persons on record who paid her divine honours were the Collyridians, who derived their name from a Greek word for cakes, which they offered to her on her yearly festival, as they had done while pagans to Astarté, the Queen of heaven; and they were thus reproved by Epiphanius, whom Rome acknowledges for a saint: "The body of Mary is indeed holy, but not God. The Virgin was indeed honourable, but not given to us for adoration, but one who did herself worship Him who was born of her in the flesh." He concludes, "let Mary be in honour, but let the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost be worshipped." Her worship, however, notwithstanding continued to spread over the western church, and by the close of the tenth century, saturday had become a fast day in her honour; daily offices were introduced, and the rosary, brought, it seems, by the

[h] It appears, that in the prophecy in Genesis, iii. 15. of the Seed of the woman, he read in his Bible, not ipsum but ipsa, a various reading which has contributed to the undue exaltation of this handmaid of the Lord, and has induced painters to represent her as treading upon a serpent.

crusaders from the East, shows the estimation in which she was held; for this method of recollecting the number of the same oft-repeated petitions, called counting beads, that is, prayers, contains but six Lord's prayers to sixty Aves, that is, the Salutation of the angel converted into an act of adoration. The Litany is profanely parodied, so that we read, "in all time of our tribulation, in all time of our wealth, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment"—instead of "good Lord,"—O Virgin Mary, "deliver us;" but Bonaventura, cardinal and canonized saint, has reached, as I conceive, the ne plus ultra of impiety, in profaning in this manner even the Word of God, by expunging throughout the Psalter the Divine name, and substituting that of Mary, making, to give one instance, Jehovah to say, not to my Lord, but to Mary, *Stand thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool*[i]. And so well satisfied with this Saint is Rome, that on his day she puts the following petition into the mouths of her members: "O Lord, who didst give blessed Bonaventura to thy people for a minister of salvation, grant that he who was the instructor of our life here on earth, may become our intercessor in heaven!"

In the state of the public mind during the session of the Council of Trent, the invocation of saints was a delicate subject, difficult to treat, without giving offence to popular prejudices, or contradicting the Scriptures. The divines determined on retaining it as an article of faith, but so expressed themselves, as to limit themselves to the declaration, "that it is a good and useful thing to flee to the prayers and assistance of the saints, who reign together with Christ, and that they are men of impious sentiments who affirm, that to beseech them to pray for us is idolatry, or that it is contrary to God's word, or opposed to the honour of the one mediator." Roman Catholic doctors evade the obvious charge of idolatry by an ingenious yet untenable distinction in the degrees of respect that is shown to the Creator and his creatures, which they represent by *worship* λατρεία due to the former alone, and service δουλία which may be offered to the latter. Conscious that they describe

[i] Ps. cx. 1.

the Virgin as raised above the rest, and desirous of retaining the title blasphemously assigned to her of Queen of heaven, they invented, to justify their excessive homage, the term ὑπερδουλία, or more than service. But this plea is silenced out of our Lord's mouth, who thus discomfited Satan; *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.* A Greek concordance will show, that the two words are used indiscriminately; and the angel who refused the homage offered by St. John, saying, *worship* God, declared himself to be σὺν δουλὸς his *fellow servant.* The cautious language of Trent emboldened Bossuet, who as a controversialist placed his church in the most favourable light, to assert, that they *only* pray to saints to intercede for them; and the declaration of the Vicars Apostolic in Great Britain, adapted to a Protestant latitude, says, that "in this saint worship, when done according to the principles and spirit of the catholic church, there is neither superstition, nor any thing contrary to true piety, for the catholic church teaches her children not to pray to the saints as the givers of divine grace, but only to solicit them to pray for us in the same sense, as St. Paul desired his friends on earth to pray for him." I notice in passing the essential difference, that when we ask our friends to pray for us, it is understood that their requests will be presented through the sole Mediator and Advocate; but that they intreat the saints in the hope that they may prevail through their own merits. The doctrine, I may also observe, is absurd as well as impious. Angels are *ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be the heirs of salvation*[k]; and of those it might be said, that they know our wants, and can communicate them to God. They may be supposed to hear prayers addressed to them, yet even this *will worship,* that is of man's own unauthorized devising, is condemned by St. Paul, as *intruding into things which* a man *has not seen*[l]. The saints, we grant, may sympathize with the Church militant upon earth; but we have no reason to infer that they can keep up any intercourse with them. The primitive and seemingly true opinion is, that the souls of those departed in the faith

[k] Heb. i. 14. [l] Col. ii. 18.

do not ascend into heaven, (which Justin Martyr condemns as a Gnostic error,) but enter into a resting place, not beholding the glory of God, which is reserved till the Resurrection, yet enjoying a vision of their Redeemer, such in kind though in degree far surpassing that previously vouchsafed to prophets. It was the Council of Florence, says Bishop Bull, which first boldly, in opposition to primitive Christianity, decreed, that souls which are purged from the stain of sin, do immediately go to heaven, where they clearly see God as he is. This decree they made to introduce purgatory, and to establish the worship of the saints. They met the objection against their ability to know the concerns and wishes of their brethren in the flesh, by the supposition that they were shown to them in the mirror of the Trinity. This explanation, that God discovers our desires to the saints, in order to enable them to pray to Him for us, demonstrates the doctrine to be as repugnant to reason, as we have already seen it to be to Scripture.

Some of the most offensive prayers and hymns were omitted in the Breviary, as reformed by command of the Council of Trent; but the evil was so far from being checked, that it has been gradually growing, till supreme worship has practically been transferred to this co-called Queen of heaven; and she and the saints are even introduced as mediators to save the world from the vengeance of the Saviour, whom they impiously change into a stern and severe Judge. Thus Biel, one of their approved authors, tells us, that our heavenly Father gave the half of his kingdom to the most blessed Virgin, retaining justice, and giving up to her the exercise of mercy. He, who when on earth would not suffer her to interfere in his ministry, is now addressed as if under her control, and she is called upon in hymns to show her maternal power. Newman, with the zeal of a proselyte, will not fall short of any of her hereditary worshippers in his devotion; for, in a sermon on her glories, he declares, that by condescending to become the Mother of Jesus, she has earned the throne of heaven, and that the Deification of her is the perfection of Christianity! Nor would, I conceive,

this blasphemous avowal be repudiated at Rome, since the late Pope Gregory XVI. selected for his encyclical letter of 1832, the festival of her [pretended] triumphant assumption into heaven, because she had been through every great calamity his patroness; and he prays that she may watch over him writing, and lead his mind by her heavenly influence to those counsels which may prove most salutary to Christ's flock. He adds, that she destroys heresies, and is the entire ground of his hope. His successor writes in the same strain. Lewis XIII. solemnly placed his kingdom under her special protection, and his vow was formally renewed by Lewis XVIII. on his restoration. The month of May is now set apart for her more peculiar service, and in addition to the many prayers to be found in manuals of devotion, there is even a litany to her heart. The following is an extract from a prayer of Alphonso Liguori, in whose writings Rome has pronounced there is nothing deserving of censure, and who was canonized in A.D. 1839: "Queen of heaven and of earth! Mother of God! my sovereign Mistress! I present myself before you a poor mendicant before a mighty Queen. O illustrious Virgin, you are the Queen of the universe, and consequently mine. Dispose of me according to your good pleasure. Direct me. I abandon myself wholly to your conduct. Chastise me if I disobey you. I am then no longer mine, I am all your's. Save me, O powerful Queen, save me by the intercession of your Son." I close this painful subject with another extract. "Brother Leo once saw in a vision two ladders reaching to heaven, one red, at the summit of which was Jesus Christ; the other white, on which was his blessed Mother. Those who endeavoured to ascend by the former, after mounting a few steps, fell down; but the voice having told them to make trial of the other, they reached heaven, the Virgin having held out her hands to receive them."

Such is the height of folly and awful impiety, (for awful, however well-intended, it is to transfer our adoration from the Creator to any creature,) which the most learned may attain, who presume to be *wise above what is written;* to whom we may apply St. Paul's condemnation of the

sages of antiquity, *Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools*[m]. Reading the New Testament in the light of history, we perceive why the blessed Virgin, the mistaken object of worship to so many Christians, is scarcely ever mentioned therein without some depreciating circumstances; and we are thankful that her Son checked the incipient spirit of Mariolatry, which led a woman to exclaim, *Happy is the womb that bare thee!* with the remark so consolatory to the believer, *happy rather are they who hear the word of God and keep it.* "What a sublime rebuke! yet, like Christ's severest rebukes, bearing a blessing in the heart of it. And how should we pray that every Roman Catholic should feel this blessed truth, that the man who hears God's word and does it, is more blessed in so doing, than the Virgin Mary was in being selected to be the mother of our Lord according to the flesh! There is no room for her interposing mediation, if we consider that Christ is God-Man. Sin had made a yawning chasm, between the absolutely holy God, and the ruined creature; and the Lord Jesus Christ by his death introduced himself as the glorious ladder typified by that seen in vision by Jacob, connecting heaven and earth. There is no room for her between her Son and man, for he is very man entering into the depths of our sympathies, and conversant with the source of our tears. There is no room for her, for he spans the whole chasm, and forms a pathway so wide, that the greatest sinner may walk in it, and yet so holy, that the least sin is not tolerated in it[n]."

Images and relics are naturally associated, for whoever venerates the portrait of a saint, will respect any part of him, as a bone or a hair, that has been preserved. A memorial of a departed friend, or of a revered character personally unknown, will be valued in proportion to our estimation of the original, and the representation of such will be dear, as recalling the image of one beloved, or as giving some idea of the features of those of whose appearance we should be glad to have a conception. The feeling

[m] Rom. i. 22.

[n] Cumming's Lectures for the Times, viii. 1844.

kept within due limits is innocent; but so prodigious has been the abuse of it, that with our experience we ought to do nothing to encourage it. No corruption of religion was more glaring than this at the period of the Reformation. The divines assembled at Trent must have been fully aware, that it supplied one of the most popular objections to the established system; and yet they dared not concede, that the practice which had so long been universally prevalent was erroneous. They therefore dismissed these points as briefly as possible, only maintaining, that *due* honour ought to be paid to images and to relics, without determining what was due. To this the Protestant answers without hesitation, *none;* for if saints themselves are not to be worshipped even with the lower kind of adoration, what respect can be due to their relics supposing them authentic, or to their portraits though they were real likenesses, more than to those of other persons whom we admire or love? The texts which they bring forward only prove, that they must seek from some other source the justification of the practice. The woman cured by touching the hem of our Saviour's garment, did not adore it, but him; and it was her faith, not in that but in him, that cured her. The rod that budded and the pot of manna, which the people were never permitted to see, were laid up merely as memorials. The care bestowed on the burial of Stephen, is an argument in favour only of the decent interment of the saints. Even the Brazen Serpent, erected by divine command by Moses, and declared by our Lord himself to be a type of him, was destroyed by King Hezekiah, when it ensnared the people into idolatry; and his conduct is a much stronger condemnation of relics than any passage that can be adduced in their favour. The early Christian writers, who had to vindicate their worship of an invisible Deity against those who fell down before images, confute the very arguments which are now brought forward by Roman Catholics to show, that it is not the image itself, but the person whom it represents, that is worshipped.

This is a distinction impossible for those to maintain who recommend prayer as more acceptable, when offered before

one picture than another. The devotee who, not content with worshipping the Virgin Mary at home or in his parish church, thought and had been taught to think, that he had more reason to expect her aid when he addressed her at a favourite shrine, as at Halle or at Walsingham, must have attributed some peculiar sanctity to the image which he visited; and in Italy, at the present time, the authorities exert themselves to keep up this delusion. They have miraculous portraits of the Madonna or Lady, some ascribed to St. Luke, others reputed to be finished by angels while the artist slept, and these are only exhibited by priests with lighted candles; and devotion to them is encouraged by a plenary indulgence of all sins to those who visit them, and miracles are declared to have been wrought by the intercession of her whom they represent, when invoked under the auspices of some favourite picture. There is a celebrated one in the church of S. Maria Maggiori, which Gregory the Great had removed in a solemn procession to St. Peter's: and it was a delightful miracle, says the narrative, to behold how the pestilence ceased entirely along the streets, through which it passed. Twelve centuries after, one of his successors accompanied the same picture in a procession, when Mary, according to the official report, "entered into her privileged temple." They place the august picture upon the pontifical altar: the Litanies are chaunted, and the Holy Pope offers incense to it, and utters a prayer full of sweet hope, that Mary had heard the vows and prayers of her people. There are Madonnas at Rome, which are attested to have wept, as if animated by the original; and one in the crypt beneath St. Peter's, an inscription declares, poured forth blood when struck by an impious hand! Men of subtlety may invent explanations palliative of the honour shown to them; but the fact will still remain, that among the masses of the people, these miraculous pictures are not regarded as mere painted canvass, but as possessing some mysterious power. The explanation of the priests was, that for some unknown cause, a picture was a special favourite with the Virgin Mary; and they argued, that miracles were wrought[o] *before*,

[o] Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome, xiii.

but not *by* it. I refer to Seymour's pilgrimage for a striking account of the Bambino, blessing from the summit of the capitol not less than five thousand persons, every head uncovered, and every face upturned, gazing intently upon the scene in front of the church. This image of the infant Jesus, a small doll wearing a royal crown, and wrapped in swaddling clothes gemmed with precious stones, is brought at a considerable cost to the sick, and to women to ensure a safe delivery. It is conveyed in a state carriage accompanied by priests; as it slowly passes, every head is uncovered, and every knee is bent; and even the host itself does not elicit the same degree of prostration. It was a pious fraud, but like all frauds pernicious, which, in order to win the heathen, accommodated Christian worship to their superstition and worldly love of show; adopting their ceremonies and decorations, as lighted candles at noon-day, which Tertullian had ridiculed, incense, gorgeous robes, and processions, till in process of time, God, whom his Son had declared as a Spirit, ought to be worshipped in spirit, was approached in the same manner as Jupiter had been before; and it became difficult to distinguish in its furniture and the services celebrated therein, a Christian church from a pagan temple. The saints of the modern Romans succeeded in their offices and their honours the gods and heroes of their ancestors. Nay the very idols of the latter, often with an alteration of name and accompaniments, became the images of the former. Thus the Capitoline Jove, having exchanged his thunderbolt for a key, sits in St. Peter's church as prince of the Apostles. The foot of the image of him who refused the homage of Cornelius is still notwithstanding kissed by those who claim exclusive right to the title of Christians; and shows, by its worn condition, that it had been treated with the same respect by its heathen worshippers. In pagan Rome, abstractions of the mind, as virtue and honour, were deified, and every profession had its patron deity. The Christian metropolis has substituted for them male and female saints, who preside over their occupations, or whom they invoke to relieve them when suffering from pain or sickness. The subject has been

treated at length by Dr. Middleton in his letter from Rome, and by more recent authors; but I will only notice one comprehensive instance, the consecration of the still extant Pantheon, the temple, as its name implies, of all the gods, to the service of the Queen of heaven and all the saints. The Homily against Peril of Idolatry, gives an interesting sketch of the progress of saint worship, and declareth, that "although our Saviour Christ taketh not, or needeth not any testimony of men, this truth concerning the forbidding of images, and worshipping of them, taken out of the holy Scriptures, was believed and taught of the old holy fathers and most ancient learned doctors, and received in the old primitive church, which was most uncorrupt and pure." The influence of paganism is discoverable in the reverence of martyrs and their relics, which began to show itself before the conversion of Constantine; but it was not till the fourth century that this reverence was exalted into actual worship. Pilgrimages were undertaken to pray at their tombs, and sometimes to obtain one of their bones, to the employment of which prodigies were ascribed; still the most enthusiastic of their admirers never proposed the introduction of their images into the churches; and Theodosius enacted laws against painting the likeness of the Saviour. However, the custom spread among the vulgar through heathen converts with rapid though silent growth, and was generally tolerated before the end of the sixth century. To Gregory the Great we must ascribe not only the improvement of public worship, but the encouragement of superstition, and the establishment of the supremacy of his see. During his pontificate, Serenus Bishop of Marseilles, observing that the people worshipped the images placed in his church, destroyed them. The Pope wrote to him on the occasion, praising his zeal, but arguing in favour of retaining them; because "what writing teaches to those who can read, painting renders intelligible to those who have only eyes to see." Thus a compromise was established. It was right to have images in churches, it was wrong to worship them. Idolatry had been firmly established in the east long before it obtained a footing among the barbarous tribes

who had possessed themselves of the western empire. Notwithstanding the strong hold which images had taken of the affections of the Greeks, and especially of the monks and of the populace, the Emperor Leo became a determined iconoclast, or destroyer of them. His perseverance in opposition to the prejudices of his subjects occasioned a civil war, which ended in the defection of Italy, and the renunciation of his nominal allegiance by the Pope. But this did not alter his determination; and his policy was carried on during a long reign by his son, whose widow Irene, acting as regent for his grandson, summoned a general Council to Nice, which decided in favour of image worship. Her exertions, supported by the monks and the mob, and encouraged by the Pope, were triumphant; and the attachment to images increased in the west till the Reformation, which did not exclude them from the Lutheran churches, though it has from our own, and from those which have adopted the system of Geneva.

These "books of the unlearned," as representations have been called, too often convey erroneous ideas, even when the works of orthodox artists, whose genius is under the control of good sense and genuine piety. Unhappily all the ancient masters, whose paintings are regarded with almost superstitious admiration, were under the influence of Romish prejudices, which they have encouraged, perhaps more effectually than authors, and when they have not actually misled, they have too often corrupted the charmed spectator from the simplicity which is in Christ. The weight of Gregory's argument, whatever it might be in the middle ages, is reduced to insignificance when the Bible has become the cheapest of publications, and the art of reading is common. The Reformation cleared our churches of altars and roods, statues and pictures, and all the appendages of Popery. Since the idea of their sanctity has died out, it has become not uncommon to place a single painting over the communion table, which it is understood must be the representation of a Scriptural subject. As Protestants then, we happily have nothing to do with legends. The only case we have to consider is the propriety of attempting to delineate

the Deity. The Roman Catholic omission of the second commandment is a tacit confession that the Old Testament is against them; and with regard to the New, St. Paul's reasoning with the Athenians implies that Christians, now the times of ignorance are past, are not to worship God through means addressed to the senses. Every reasonable and pious worshipper of this enlightened age is shocked with the attempts which are yet extant to represent the ever-blessed Trinity. Raphael and other of the more celebrated Italian painters have not scrupled to paint the Supreme Being as a venerable old man. We see at once the absurdity of thus degrading the Deity, whom we are told by his Son, who has alone known him, is a Spirit, and the Apostles teach, *no man hath seen or can see,* dwelling *in unapproachable light:* and the attempt to delineate must have appeared not only hopeless, but profane, to any one who remembered the Almighty's strong prohibition of it to Moses; a prohibition, which from the nature of things must be ever equally binding. *Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, for ye saw no manner of similitude in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make unto you a graven image*[p]. But it may be said, that since his Son our Lord Jesus Christ took upon him our nature, there can be no impropriety in representing him as a man. It is however a fact well worthy of our notice, and a strong presumption against the attempt, that no authentic portrait of our Lord is come down to us, though we have of his contemporaries the Roman Emperors. There is indeed a description of one which he is said to have sent to Abgarus King of Edessa, from which the conventional idea of him is formed. But it is clear that it was the forgery of a later age, and has no authority, from the different opinion of his person entertained by the Greek and Latin Fathers, the former of whom, from their admiration of ideal beauty, maintained, that he was perfect in form as well as in disposition; while the latter, from a rigorous interpretation both of Isaiah's text and

[p] Deut. iv. 15.

the reply of his adversaries, thou art not yet *fifty* years old, argued, that he had literally *no form or comeliness.* It seems reasonable to suppose, that this was purposely contrived to prevent his unconscious portrait sharing in the homage due to himself alone, upon the same principle that the burying-place of Moses was concealed, lest his remains should prove a stumblingblock to his people. As St. Paul says, those who had *known Christ after the flesh, were to know him so no more.*

A false, and therefore an injurious impression is caused by such attempts, even when faithful to the Scripture narrative: and as works of art they are with rare exceptions failures, the artist's genius being cramped by his reverence, for the object he undertakes to delineate, and a feeling of his own inadequacy, so as often to render the figure that ought to be his master-piece inferior to the subordinate personages. The sensation produced is disappointment: but it is an evil of far greater magnitude, when the artist passes out of the real into an imaginary world, though such pictures happily with us adorn not our churches, but the mansions of the wealthy. The most innocent specimens of this description are holy families, with or without the Baptist, diversified with an endless variety, and in which the holy Child is frequently introduced playing with various animals, from which these pictures derive their technical distinctions. Such imaginary scenes are more in accordance with the apocryphal than the real gospels, which sketch not the family history, but the ministry of our blessed Lord. The evil attains its height, when he is degraded to a mere appendage to his exalted and deified mother, to distinguish her from other saints, as the wheel marks St. Catherine, and a vase the Magdalene. Thus she appears as a Queen, and often crowned, and enthroned above the clouds, honoured by angels, and worshipped by the kneeling saints of later ages, as for instance by Saint Barbara, and a Pope in a celebrated picture by Raffaelle. These anachronisms tend to cheat the spectator into forgetting, that he who attained to manhood on earth, is not still an infant; and it fosters the delusion of helplessness in Him, who, as perfect man, *is*

set down at the right hand of the throne of God—not, as represented in other paintings, as assisting the Father in the coronation of Mary, but Himself to reign—*till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* Such pictures "create the impression on the mind, that Mary is the primary person in heaven, as being the primary object in the picture; that she cannot only influence but command her child; and this is precisely the tone of feeling actually generated[p]."

We need not stop to consider Relics, the veneration of which is defended and confuted by the same arguments as that of images.

These are of two sorts; the actual remains, as a limb or hair of the bodies of saints, or the instrument of their sufferings. The multitude of the former is so prodigious, as to excite suspicion and ridicule. Cologne boasts of chests full of the bones of the Theban legion, and of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgin companions; and a catalogue of those at Rome may be read in Mr. Seymour's Pilgrimage. They afford ample materials for scoffers, since the authenticity of all is questionable; and sometimes there are rival claims to the possession of a relic, as a head, which of necessity can be only in one place. The veneration for these remains long preceded the adoration of images, and was much encouraged by Gregory. In an extraordinary letter, which manifests the superstitious awe with which he regarded the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, deposited, as is believed, in the basilica of the former, he declines to favour the Empress Irene with the smallest portion of these honoured remains, and hardly ventures to promise her some filings from his reputed predecessor's chains. This veneration was not always disinterested, for the bone of a favourite saint would often bring pilgrims to his shrine, and thus one monastery would surpass another both in wealth and fame. In a superstitious yet unscrupulous age, relics gave a sanction to solemn engagements, which might otherwise have been disregarded. Thus the crafty William of Normandy, having forced an oath upon the reluctant Harold, showed him the venerated relics on which he had unconsciously sworn, and

[p] Seymour, p. 423.

admonished him to keep a promise ratified by so tremendous a sanction. In the Roman service is a most objectionable hymn to the Cross; and I conclude this painful subject, with referring you to Mr. Seymour's description of the adoration of that memorial of our Saviour's passion on Good Friday by the Pope, who lays aside his robes and mitre, and whose shoes are even taken off, that he may worship it with greater respect and awe, than he does even the host. As the author remarks, observing the critical distinctions of Rome, it is an act not of veneration or worship, but of adoration. Yet, strictly speaking, it is no relic, not being made out of the fragment of the true cross, and therefore no more than an emblem.

LECTURE XVI.

ARTICLE XXIII.

OF MINISTERING IN THE CONGREGATION.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

OF CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS AND MINISTERS.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

These two Articles are so closely connected, that to prevent repetition I shall consider them together.

In the first, though entitled *Of Ministering in the Congre-*

gation, Preaching and the Sacraments alone are named; but the offering up of the prayers of the congregation must of course be understood to be comprehended in the Minister's functions. Public preaching and in the congregation are opposed to family devotion, which is also a Christian duty, but being private, remains at the discretion of the head of the family, and is no subject of public regulation.

If religion is to be more than a personal concern between man and his Creator; and it is our duty, as the Apostle to the Hebrews affirms[a], not *to forsake the assembling of ourselves together*, but to unite with our fellow Christians in worship; and if, which will not be denied, the service ought to be performed with decency and in order; it seems to be a necessary conclusion, that it must not be left to be casually supplied; in which case it might be a subject of debate who should officiate, or it might be assumed by an incompetent person. In the earliest ages the heads of families, and afterwards chiefs, that is, the heads of clans, led the worship of their families or people: and the propriety of such arrangements is established upon divine authority, since under the Mosaic dispensation this privilege was transferred to one particular tribe. Under the Christian system, especially since miraculous aid has been withdrawn, and there is not a routine of formal ordinances to be performed, but doctrines to be explained and precepts to be inculcated, it would seem to be indispensable, unless it could be shown that the distinction was designed to be done away. And that it was not might be fairly concluded from the fact, that the distinction now existing between the clergy and laity, may be traced up to Clement of Rome, the contemporary of St. Paul, supposed to be the same Clement mentioned by him in his Epistle to the Philippians, and is recognised in the New Testament. At first sight it might appear from certain texts that this distinction was to cease. Thus in his opening address to the seven Asiatic Churches, St. John's ascription of, *Glory and dominion unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God*[b], includes the laity;

[a] Heb. x. 5. [b] Rev. i. 5, 6.

those who partake of the first resurrection, and who reign with Christ a thousand years, are called priests; and St. Peter[c] designates the whole body of believers *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people.* On further enquiry we shall discover, that these expressions are not to be taken to the letter, for the Apostle is evidently referring to the title applied in Exodus[d], by God himself to his ancient people, *Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation;* and no one can doubt, that under that dispensation there was a regular divinely appointed priesthood, and that God miraculously interfered to punish Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who would have usurped it, and acted upon this very interpretation; for their speech to Moses and Aaron was, *Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi, seeing all the congregation are holy every one of them*[e]. In the same Epistle too St. Peter expressly acknowledges the distinction; for the presbyters, or elders as they are rendered in our version, he thus addresses, *Feed the flock of Christ which is among you, taking the oversight thereof; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock, and ye shall receive a crown of glory when the chief Shepherd shall appear*[f]*;* plainly showing that he exhorts them as *under* shepherds.

Whoever receives the New Testament must allow, that our Lord himself selected twelve of his followers to be the ministers of his religion; and that upon the vacancy occasioned by the treachery and death of Judas, the eleven filled up their number, and that the act was approved by the Holy Ghost. The Apostles, however, might be presumed to be not examples of the rule, but exceptions; and indeed in their peculiar office they had no successors, though as bishops they ordained elders in the churches which they founded; and St. Paul writes to Timothy and Titus, as to persons entrusted, at least for a season, with episcopal functions. They are directed as to the particulars of public worship, and to the ordaining and governing of ministers, whose qualifications are enumerated: and these directions are given to Timothy, that he may know *how to behave*

[c] 1 Peter ii. 9. [d] Exod. xix. 6. [e] Numb. xvi. 3. [f] 1 Pet. v. 2—4.

himself in the house of God[g]*;* and he is required to *divide the word of truth, to preach the word, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, do the work of an evangelist, and make full proof of his ministry*[h]*; and to lay hands suddenly on no man*[i]. Titus is instructed as to the doctrines he was to teach[k], and the doctrines he was to avoid[l], and also how to censure heretics. And it appears that there should be a succession in after times of qualified ministers; for in this second Epistle, a legacy as it were to the Church, the Apostle now ready to be offered, charges his *beloved son* in the faith, Timothy, not only *to study to show himself approved unto God*[m], but writes, *the things that thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also*[n]. In the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, the same Apostle reckons up the several orders that *God had set in his Church;* and though some of these have ceased with miraculous gifts, the general fact of a Christian ministry of some kind, for which I am contending, is supported by them as well as by the passage in the Ephesians[o], where he reckons *apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers,* among the *gifts,* which Christ on his ascension *obtained for men;* and assigns the reason of the gift, *the perfecting of the saints, the work of the ministry, the edifying of the body of Christ;* purposes which we should infer would be as much wanted in every subsequent age as in that; but which seems to be expressly stated in the conclusion of the sentence, *till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man;* not therefore to be limited to the infancy of the Church. And not only instructions are given to the clergy, but proper respect and obedience is enjoined to the laity; as in that to the Hebrews[p], *Obey them that have rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account.* "Hereupon I hold," to adopt the language of Hooker, "that the Clergy are a state which hath been and will be as long

[g] 1 Tim. iii. 15. [h] 2 Tim. iv. 2—5. [i] 1 Tim. v. 22. [k] Titus ii. [l] Tit. iii. 9. [m] 2 Tim. ii. 15. [n] 2 Tim. ii. 2. [o] Eph. iv. [p] Heb. xiii. 17.

as there is a Church upon earth, necessarily by the plain word of God himself." I conclude with referring you to Paul's own solemn separation to the ministry. "Any one, says Dr. Hey, fixing his thoughts on it, would naturally exclaim, it was not enough then to authorize Paul to go and preach the word, that he had been struck blind by the immediate interference of God, that the design of divine Providence in teaching a new religion, had been communicated to him by a voice from heaven; and that Ananias had been sent unto him, as unto *a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his name before the gentiles and kings, and the children of Israel*[q]; to deliver him from a blindness of three days. This chosen vessel must still be consecrated by *men;* the presbyters of Antioch must fast and pray over him, and lay their hands upon him, before he could be a legitimate minister of the Gospel, though he could say with more propriety than any other, that he was an *Apostle not from men neither by men*[r]." What teacher then of other days could take to himself the office? The Article condemns *self-ordination;* and even if Scripture had been silent, which we see it is not, reason would tell us, that a man is a partial and bad judge of his own qualifications. The vain and conceited would put themselves forward, the modest and diffident would retire, and some would make themselves ministers from unworthy interested motives. The question then naturally arises, with whom doth the appointment rest? and there are several who will answer, with Bishops exclusively, denying the validity of the ministration of those who have not received episcopal ordination. Their decision would exclude from the covenant of Christianity all the churches who have thrown off the yoke of Rome, except our own and that of Sweden; a position so startling, when we consider the many eminent Protestant divines that have flourished in Scotland, and France, and Germany; and the difficulty, and in some instances the impossibility, of the laity of those countries finding a true church with which they could communicate, that it requires overpowering authority to establish it. The Article is clearly against this view. And

[q] Acts ix. 15. [r] Gal. i. 1.

we have already seen, that a former one so defined the church as not to reject any other community which held the unity of the faith. It would be easy to form a catena of our divines from the time of Archbishop Whitgift and Hooker, who, while they maintain the desirability of episcopal ordination, deny its necessity; and who would echo the sentiment of Bishop Cosins, "Are all the churches of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Germany, France, Scotland, in all points of substance or circumstances disciplinated alike? Nay, they neither are nor can be; nor yet need be, since it cannot be proved that any set and particular form is recommended to us by the word of God." Bishop Hall writes[s], "Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. Their public confessions and ours are sufficient conviction to the world of our full and absolute agreement. The only difference is in the form of outward administration, wherein also we are so far agreed, as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better-being of it according to our several apprehensions thereof, and that we do all retain a reverent and loving opinion of each other in our several ways, not seeing any reason why so poor a diversity should work any alienation of affection in us, one towards another." And to this I add the judgment of the contemporary lay philosopher, Bacon. "That there should be but one form of discipline in all churches, and that imposed by necessity of commandment and prescript out of the word of God, I, for my part, do confess, that on reading the Scriptures I could never find any such thing; but that God hath left the like liberty to the church government as he hath done to the civil government, to be raised according to time, and place, and accidents, which nevertheless his high and divine Providence doth order and dispose." I conclude with the judgment of two Bishops on this very Article. Burnet says, "the definition here given of those who are lawfully called and sent, is in very general terms far from that magisterial stiffness in which some have

[s] Peacemaker, i. 6.

taken upon them to dictate in this matter. The Article does not resolve itself into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for such accidents as had happened, and such as might still happen. They who drew it had the state of the several churches that had been differently reformed before their eyes, and although their own had been less forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules, that ought to be sacred in regular times. Necessity has no law, and is a law unto itself. Happily this Article concerns us only indirectly. If a Christian community find the public worship what they conceive to be idolatrous, or in other respects contrary to sound doctrine, and if their ministers agree with them, excepting those whose province it is to ordain, we cannot deny them the right of separating from those whom they deem heretical; and unless the society is to expire with its original members, we must permit their ministers to continue their own succession. This has been the case both in the Lutheran and the French Protestant church, and also in that of Scotland, and in consequence there has been much discussion upon the validity of Ordination by presbyters or elders." Tomline, "that as the Scriptures do not prescribe any definite form of church government, so they contain no directions concerning the establishment of a power by which ministers are to be admitted to their sacred office. The adherence to the fundamental principles of the Gospel is sufficient to constitute a visible Church." And this axiom has the more weight, because he introduces it with these words; "Though I flatter myself that I have proved Episcopacy to be an Apostolical Institution."

Le Clerc, a celebrated divine of the Dutch Church, itself Presbyterian, bears this strong testimony in favour of Episcopacy. "I have always professed to believe, that man has no right to change Episcopacy in any place, unless it were otherwise impossible to reform the abuses that crept into Christianity; that it was justly preserved in England, where the Reformation was practicable without altering

it; and that therefore Protestants, in places where there are Bishops, do ill to separate from that discipline." Calvin himself had before given the same judgment. Church government is certainly very subordinate in importance to the maintenance of sound doctrine and holy practice, the latter being indeed the end, which the former is the means to attain. If therefore in any church gross corruption should prevail, as throughout Europe before the Reformation, and not only as on the continent then the Bishops, but the whole body of the clergy should oppose it; upon the same principle the congregation might elect a new clergy for itself, and according to this Article would have lawful authority. As before observed, this does not materially concern us. It is true that several of our divines in the commencement of our Reformation had been ordained abroad by elders; but in the reign of James the First, the validity of their Ordination was called in question. Yet persons so ordained were permitted to hold preferment, till an Act of Parliament required as a condition, that our clergy should receive episcopal ordination, which has been ever since the only one acknowledged by Law; for the consecration of Archbishop Parker and his suffragans by one another at the Nags-head Tavern, has been long since exploded as an incredible fable: and the due consecration of the three prelates, who set them apart to their high office, not there, but in Lambeth palace, has been ascertained. Through these Bishops, the English Orders have been transmitted, and whatever right or privilege Rome can claim from succession, must equally belong to our reformed branch of the Catholic Church. We believe, that though the Ministry has passed through a corrupted channel, it has not been vitiated by erroneous doctrines or superstitious worship; and upon this principle, whenever a priest abjures popery, he is permitted to officiate among us without a second ordination. While on the one hand we have the same claim for the validity of our Orders as the Roman Catholics, and this has been allowed by some of their own divines, we can justly claim on the other the right asserted in the Article; for as the Legislature has recognised and confirmed

the power of Bishops, they are "the men among us who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard."

The liberality of our Reformers with regard to church government is remarkable. The Articles respecting it are very few, and are so worded as not to commit the subscriber to a declaration even of the superiority of our own. Few, I conceive, can deny that we ought to judge "lawfully called and sent those which be chosen, and called by men who have public authority given them in the congregation" for that purpose; and none of our communion can reasonably withhold assent to an Article, which does not assert that the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of Ordaining of Priests and Deacons, is the best that could be devised, but claims for it only the negative merit of being neither "superstitious nor ungodly." Dr. Burgess told King James, that he did not mean to express approbation of every phrase, but only to declare that our calling and ordination was on the whole such as not to be deemed unlawful, or contrary to the word of God, and his sense was accepted as the right one. The Article mentions the Book set forth in the time of Edward VI., but the Act of Uniformity declares it is to be understood of the form as altered after the Restoration. These alterations, however, are too trifling to excite any scruples in the mind of persons who would sign the original book.

If every National Church be independent and at liberty, as we have seen, to settle its own forms and ceremonies, the truth of our position can only be disproved, by showing that the distinction of the Ministry into three Orders, or the terms in which they are admitted into them, is contrary to the word of God.

An order of Priesthood, generally hereditary, has prevailed from time immemorial in Egypt and in the East, while professional distinctions were unknown to the Greeks and Romans; so that consuls and generals aspired to the office of Pontiff; and their presiding at sacrifices and other religious rites did not incapacitate them from resuming the management of civil affairs. Under the Mosaic dispensation, when the land of Canaan was divided by lot among the

tribes of Israel, Jehovah[t] was said to be the inheritance of Levi, because as dedicated to his service, his descendants were maintained by the tithes and other offerings of their brethren. Κλῆρος, the Greek translation of lot, was transferred to the Christian ministry: and this distinction of clergy and laity, which was fully established in the time of Tertullian, is recognised in our liturgy, in the suffrages of the minister and congregation for each other, 'save thy people,' and, 'bless thine inheritance.' Episcopacy, which we find in an incipient state under the Apostles, was completely developed in the east before the close of the first century, and "no Church without a Bishop" had become a fact as well as a maxim. The triple division of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, has been supposed by some divines to have been adumbrated in the High Priest, Priests, and Levites of the Jewish temple. This theory early recommended itself to the ambitious, since it exalted the lowly minister to the dignity of a sacerdotal sovereign; but though plausible at first sight, it will not bear examination, for the laity, that is, the body of believers, is the church, or, the congregation, and the clergy their officers, should claim no higher eminence than Paul himself, *your servants for Jesus' sake*[u], a dignity to those who can appreciate it, surpassing what any title of this world can bestow, since even our Master came not *to be ministered to, but to minister*[x]; and he has said, *Let him who will be chief among you be your servant.* The clergy form no priesthood, because they offer no sacrifice; they are a ministry *to feed the flock of God*[y], to preside over their religious services, and to be *helpers of their joy*[z]. The Epistle to the Hebrews proves, that the high priest after the order of Aaron can have no mortal successor, being a type of that greater High Priest after the order of Melchizedek, whose office cannot be filled by any creature; and indeed will never be vacant; for though *by one offering*[a] of himself, as sacrificer and sacrifice, *he has perfected for ever them that are sanctified*, he still performs in heaven for his people the second part of his office, intercession.

[t] Deut. x. 9. [u] 2 Cor. iv. 5. [x] Matt. xx. 28. [y] 1 Pet. v. 2.
[z] 2 Cor. i. 4. [a] Heb. x. 14.

And the writer to the Hebrews argues, that the *priesthood being changed, there is also of necessity a change in the law*[b]. We should also remember, that the Mosaic polity survived the Apostles, who still, after the Ascension, frequented the temple. It never occurred to them to offer, like the Romanists, an unbloody sacrifice, but they felt a desire to join in religious exercises with their converts; and we find, that from the day of Pentecost, which gave birth to the church, while they *continued with one accord in the temple*[c], they also continued *stedfastly* among themselves *in breaking of bread and in prayer*[d]. There was however another scheme of worship, not like the temple-service limited to Jerusalem, and served by an hereditary priesthood, but common wherever Jews are to be found, in their own land or abroad. This too had been honoured by our Lord's presence, and especially in the building appropriated to it in the town in which he had been brought up, and in this he opened his ministry by reading a prophecy of it by Isaiah. I mean, the Synagogue; and this in its officers and its services appears to have been the model of Christian assemblies; and St. James actually calls their religious meeting by that name[e]. This theory is supported by Vitringa, and is explained to the English reader by Mr. Litton, who contrasts the two dispensations, showing at length how the former worked from without inward, the entire system being imposed at once, with a solemn prohibition against the introduction of alterations or additions into the divine original; while the latter worked from within outward, so that the want was always allowed to be felt before it was supplied; and thus originated the office of Deacon, and subsequently that of Bishop.

The Preface to the Book of Consecration and Ordering to which we subscribe our acceptance, opens with this passage: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." This is opposed to the seven distinct orders in the Church of Rome, which

[b] Heb. vii. 12. [c] Acts ii. 46. [d] Acts ii. 42. [e] James ii. 2.

were confirmed, as of apostolical authority, by the Council of Trent. But their minor ones are not properly initiatory orders, but ecclesiastical offices, as clerks, and sextons, which can claim no higher authority than their utility, being of human invention, as well as more important ones, such as archdeacons and archbishops.

The Apostolical institution of Deacons and Presbyters may be proved; for St. Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, authorizes them to ordain both, and points out their qualifications. The third office, that of Bishop or Superintendent, who adds to the duties of the Presbyter or Elder that of ordaining and overlooking and governing them, has, since the establishment of the Presbyterian system in Geneva and Scotland, been the subject of much discussion. Little information is to be obtained from the New Testament; and the evidence may at first sight appear to be against us; yet, as Epiphanius says, the Apostles could not establish every thing rightly at once; and in their higher dignity the office of Bishop which they themselves exercised was merged. The Presbyters were equal in rank and authority; and while the Christians were few, no inconvenience arose from their equality, as the Apostles from time to time visited the churches they had planted, and occasionally sent Evangelists with episcopal power, as Timothy and Titus, to ordain elders. But as Christianity spread into more distant parts, and congregations became more numerous, the occasional inspection of the Apostles would be both more requisite and less frequent; and it also became necessary to provide for the period, when they would be removed by death. The following passage from Jerome deserves the more attention, since he is the only Father who is ever brought forward as favourable to the Presbyterian scheme. "Till factions grew through the instinct of the devil, churches were governed by the common advice of Presbyters; but when every one began to reckon those whom he himself had baptized his own and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one chosen out of the Presbyters should be placed over the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong, and so the seeds of schism be re-

moved. And in another part of the same work he tells us, that James was appointed by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete by St. Paul, and Polycarp of Smyrna by St. John. Bishops were subsequently chosen by the congregation at large, and sometimes by popular acclamation, as Chrysostom and Ambrose, against their own inclinations; but elections growing tumultuous, and the power of the clergy increasing, the appointment gradually lapsed to the latter, and ultimately from the whole body of them to a select few, the Chapter of a Cathedral Church. Still the approbation of the Sovereign as representing the laity was required; nor did the Pope himself form an exception; for his election by the Cardinals, that is, by a body which was originally the parochial clergy of Rome and its immediate vicinity, was confirmed by the Emperor. As his power increased, the nomination of Bishops became the great topic of contention between Popes and Sovereigns, which terminated in the triumph of the former. Henry VIII. on renouncing his supremacy and assuming it himself, granted a permission to Chapters to elect, but recommended the person. A direct nomination by the Crown was substituted under Edward VI., which now prevails in Ireland; but in England the former practice was restored by Elizabeth. Bishop Warburton [g] considers such patronage as a compensation made by the Church to the State for revenues, and protection, and authority.

The Reformation restored to us the primitive constitution of the church, freed from the gradual and ever-increasing usurpation of the Bishop of Rome; which had gradually changed an aristocracy into a despotic monarchy. As it was conducted by our own Bishops, there was no change of government, but they retained the authority transmitted to them by their predecessors of ordaining and consecrating; and none therefore can call in question the Apostolical succession of the English clergy who allow that of the Papal. Ordination by Presbyters alone, Calvin himself, the author of that discipline, only justified on the plea of necessity; and he and the continental Protestants generally concede, that Episcopal ordi-

[g] Alliance between Church and State.

nation is desirable. Since the New Testament, unlike the Old, does not exhibit a pattern of church government, which we discover in it only incidentally, and in an incipient state, I cannot assent to the proposition, that Episcopacy is essential to the existence of a Church; still we may be thankful that our ancestors, being placed under more favourable circumstances than the reformers of Germany and France, were enabled to retain an order, which may be traced up to the time of the Apostles, and has substantially the weight though not of their command, yet of their practice. Our adversaries, says Veneer, have been challenged long since to produce an Ordination during the first fifteen hundred years after Christ performed by Presbyters, which was not considered invalid; and persons who have been ordained by Presbyters alone, have been stripped of their Orders. A famous instance is Ischyras, who was deposed by the Synod of Alexandria, because Colluthus, who ordained him, was supposed to be no more than a Presbyter, though claiming to be a Bishop. "How came Ischyras," says Athanasius, "to be so much as a Presbyter? Who ordained him? did Colluthus?" This is all that can be urged. But as Colluthus died a Presbyter, all ordinations by his hand were invalid. And even Jerome, when endeavouring to lower Episcopacy, asked, What does a Bishop do, which a Presbyter may not do, except ordaining? Ascending from our own time till the Apostolical age, we discover not only in the western, but in the Greek and the Oriental Churches the Episcopal Order. Tertullian, arguing against certain heretics, says, Let them show the origin of their Churches, let them exhibit the order of their Bishops so succeeding each other from the beginning, that the first Bishop had for his author and predecessor some one of the Apostles, or of those apostolical men who persevered with the Apostles, for in this manner apostolical churches assert their rights. Thus Smyrna has Polycarp placed there by St. John, and Rome has Clement ordained by Peter. The same declaration concerning Polycarp is made by Irenæus, himself Bishop of Lyons, whom, he adds, I saw when I was young; and Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom at the latest in A. D. 112, and was a contemporary of the Apostles, in his

reduced epistles generally allowed to be genuine, mentions Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as three separate Orders.

But it will be naturally asked, if this be a correct statement, why is there any dispute? Merely, I reply, for the reason above assigned, that at the time of writing the Epistles, the Apostles were the only Bishops in our sense of the word, and that Presbyter and Bishop were then convertible terms. So much are we the slaves of words, that this has not been seen even by all learned men, such as Hammond, who follows Irenæus in supposing that the Ephesian elders, whom Paul sent for to Miletus, and told in his exhortation, that *the Holy Ghost had made them overseers*[k], or bishops, were bishops in this higher sense. But if these were bishops, where were the presbyters? We cannot conceive so many Prelates at Ephesus and the immediate vicinity at that early period; still less in the single city of Philippi; yet Paul addresses his Epistle to the Christians there, to *the bishops and deacons*, altogether dropping presbyters, or elders. The omission of presbyters, whom we are informed in the Acts were ordained from the beginning in every city, proves the two terms to be then synonymous, and used indifferently. Who can doubt this that reads in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city, if any be blameless, for a bishop must be blameless?* The injunctions also in the Epistle to Timothy, where bishops and deacons are the only officers mentioned, are decisive; and the qualifications for the bishop here are the same as those for the elder in the Epistle to Titus. In the Revelations, written at a later period, we find a presiding person in each of the Asiatic Churches, called the Angel; who appears to be a bishop in the modern sense, and he might be so called as the messenger of the Apostles.

I infer from the New Testament, that neither Titus nor Timothy were then resident bishops with a local charge; and I doubt if the latter were at a subsequent period, as his settlement at Ephesus would seem to interfere with the supremacy of the Apostle John. Still if they only performed

[k] Acts xx. 28.

episcopal functions as the delegates of St. Paul, it equally gives his sanction to the office. No reasonable doubt can be entertained that Episcopacy prevailed before the end of the first century, and as little that it was either established or sanctioned by the Apostles then living, especially by St. John, whose residence in Asia Minor, where tradition fixes the beginnings of the Episcopate, points him out as in all probability the one of the twelve, to whom the Church owes this extension of her polity[1]."

In process of time, when Christianity had become the religion of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, even prior to its establishment, questions would arise for the deliberation of Bishops, and the settlement of these would require that one should preside over the rest, with a casting vote at least in cases of equality. Such is now the practice of the Scottish and American Episcopal churches, in which the senior member of the Episcopacy is Primate. In the second century, the distinction of archbishop was invented for this purpose; again to four of these, the archbishops of the principal cities of the Empire, Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, a preeminent rank was given, and they were called Primates or Patriarchs. The See of Constantinople was not raised to this dignity till the first Council held in that city, A.D. 381; the others, the date of which is not known, were prior to the Council of Nice. It was this patriarchal preeminence, aided by the absence of the Emperor, and afterwards by the ignorance and superstition of the barbarous nations who conquered the western provinces, that enabled the Bishop of the ancient capital to put forth claims, which ultimately ended in complete ascendancy both over the clergy and the civil power. For these superior offices no higher authority than that of antiquity is claimed: and, properly speaking, they form but one order with gradation of rank, since all the spiritual functions of an Archbishop or Patriarch may be equally performed by a Bishop; so Deans and Archdeacons are no more than presbyters, though with a similar superiority of rank. These distinctions,

[1] Litton, Church of Christ, p. 435.

therefore, which vary according to circumstances, may exist or be abolished without affecting the essence of an Episcopal Church, which consists in a ruling order, in contradistinction to the parity of ministers, which is the characteristic of Presbyterianism.

The words, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, by which the presbyter is admitted to his office, scandalized some, who conceive them as only fit to be used, as they were by our Lord, who could impart as well as announce the gift. Burnet suggests, that they may be understood as a wish or prayer; and such was the ancient form in the Western Church. In the East it has been always declaratory. "The Divine grace makes thee a presbyter." Or it may be observed, he adds, that the ministers consider themselves as acting in the name and person of Christ. It has not been in use above six centuries, and when adopted by our Reformers, they dropped the concluding words of the appointment authorizing the presbyter to offer sacrifices for the living and the dead.

ARTICLE XXIV.

OF SPEAKING IN THE CONGREGATION IN SUCH A TONGUE AS THE PEOPLE UNDERSTANDETH.

It is a thing plainly repugnant in the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

Any person of common sense ignorant of ecclesiastical history, and of the practice of other churches, must regard it as superfluous, and almost absurd trifling, to require assent to so plain and obvious a truth; how strange then as well as painful must it be to him to learn, that even at the present day, not only Roman Catholics, but the Greeks and the Eastern Christians, that is, a vast majority of believers attend public worship in a language they do not understand; and that the Council of Trent, not satisfied with decreeing that it was lawful and proper, goes so far as to anathematize

those who affirm, that the mass may be celebrated in the vulgar tongue! So powerful are prejudice and custom, that its full absurdity does not appear to have been seen at first; at least the Article was originally worded less positively. The first edition only affirms the use of a known tongue to be most fit and agreeable to the Word of God; but in the present, that the contrary is repugnant to it, and adds, "to the custom of the primitive Church." King Edward's Article took in preaching with prayer; the former is dropped as needless, since, I apprehend, that it is no where practised. "A tongue not understanded by the people," comprehends also, in the reason of the thing, a voice not *audible*. This is expressly required of the priest in the canon of the mass, in opposition to which the minister is desired in our service to speak with a *loud* voice, and to *turn himself to the people;* for the Priest has always his back to the congregation, except when he occasionally addresses to them Dominus vobiscum, The Lord be with you. The same Council of Trent, which justifies and requires the mass to be said in a language not generally understood by the congregation, also consistently vindicates the uttering, if uttering it can be called, of the consecration of the elements in a voice inaudible. The practice here condemned is so irrational, that it would be needless to reason against it; for unless we ascribe a magical efficacy to prayer, such as the Romanists do to Sacraments, it "is obvious, that the edification of the congregation must wholly depend upon its being understood; and nothing could shake our confidence in this conclusion, but the positive approbation in the Scriptures of the contrary plan, or the clear testimony that the primitive Church was instructed by the Apostles to worship God in a language of which they were ignorant. The primitive Church, however, we know, will in this as in many other respects, bear its testimony against Rome. The liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom were in Greek, those of the Eastern Christians in Syriac, those of Egypt in Coptic. It is true that they are no longer understood, but that is, because that while language was changing, the Church services continued stationary. There was a time when even the Latin

liturgy was understood, both in Italy and in the Provinces. Nay, our adversaries can hardly deny that this must have been the reason why it was used in the Western Patriarchate; for though it is now considered as the sacred language, it had originally no pretensions to this distinction, since the New Testament is written in Greek. The Nicene Creed was formally appointed by a Papal decree to be read at Rome as drawn up in Greek, and I have myself heard the Pope on Christmas day, A.D. 1817, read the Gospel in the original tongue. The very arguments therefore now used in favour of a Latin mass, might some centuries ago have been turned against the Latinists, and with more force, by any disposed to advocate a Greek liturgy. It is a fact that cannot be contradicted; and if it cannot, the cause must be given up, that no Church, excepting those formed by Roman missionaries, has ever begun with a liturgy not understood by the people. Latin gradually ceased to be intelligible, and was then thought too sacred to be laid aside; but if the practice had any intrinsic merit which would outweigh its obvious disadvantages, that ought to have recommended it to all places from the beginning. For the first thousand years, however, Latin was generally understood. Origen expressly says, that Greeks in Greek, Romans in Latin, and every one in his own dialect, prayeth unto God; and Justin Martyr's account of their worship plainly shows, that it must have been in the vernacular tongue. The testimony of the Apostle Paul[k] is as decisive as if he was arguing against the practice; for when some of the Corinthians used their miraculous gifts not to *edification* but *ostentation*, he reproves them, and shows that he who speaketh in an unknown tongue can be of no use unless he interpret; for if the meaning of what he says be not understood, he is only as a *barbarian*, or one speaking a foreign tongue. He then goes on to say of prayer, *If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit* (that is, the gift that is within me) *prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful;* and therefore he concludes that he will *both pray and give thanks with the spirit, and*

[k] 1 Cor. xiv.

with the understanding also; and the reason he subjoins is one that is suitable to all times: *Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.* How then can a practice be justified so contrary to that of the Apostle, who declares, that he had rather *speak five words with his understanding, that by his voice he might teach others also, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue.* Nay even the earlier practice of their own Church is against them, for in the ninth century, a Pope allowed the Slavonians the use of their own language in divine service; and many of their most approved writers, as Thomas Aquinas and Cardinal Caietan, prefer it. It has in modern times been in part conceded to Germany, and is more hard to defend than any other point of the Roman Catholic discipline, since it contradicts common sense as well as Scripture Antiquity; and the Council of Trent recommends frequent explanations to be made, lest the sheep of Christ should be hungry and his babes want bread. The laity who can read, are allowed to have Latin prayers, with translations on the opposite page. It would be but a single but how important a step, for the priest to read out these translations instead of the original!

LECTURE XVII.

ARTICLE XXV.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith.

Having seen in what language the Sacraments are to be administered, we now proceed to define what they are as distinguished from rites, and to ascertain their number. The subject is so important in itself, and has been rendered still more so by the unhappy divisions that it has occasioned not only between Romanists and Protestants, but among

Protestants of different denominations, that the framers of our Articles found it expedient to treat of it in no less than seven. The two first relate to Sacraments in general, the third to Baptism, and the other four to the Lord's Supper. The main object of the present is to distinguish the only two which we see reason to acknowledge, from the others of the church of Rome. I quote the testimony of Augustine, as referred to in the Homily, on "Common Prayer and Sacraments." "He weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing to Januarius, and also in the third book of Christian Doctrine, affirmeth, that the Sacraments of the Christians as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number; and in both places maketh mention expressly of two, the Sacrament of Baptism, and of the Supper of the Lord." And the original Article as first set forth, begins in these words of his. "Our Lord Jesus Christ gathered his people into a society by Sacraments, very few in number, most easy to be kept, and of most excellent signification." "Our Church," says Archbishop Bramhall, "receives not the septenary number of the Sacraments, that being never so much as mentioned in any Scripture council or creed, or father, or ancient author, but first divided in the twelfth century by Peter Lombard; decreed in the fifteenth century by Pope Eugenius IV. and established at Trent. This Peter Lombard is called the Master of the Sentences, from the title of his work, which is a small volume giving a condensed body of divinity from Augustine, and the other Latin fathers and later writers. This epitome till the Reformation was the introduction in Theology of every academical student, and so popular, that our countrymen alone wrote more commentaries on it than on any other works, except those of Aristotle[a].

Sacramentum is the term by which the Latin translator has rendered Μυστήριον, which in our version is unhappily turned into an English word; I say, unhappily, because it conveys a false meaning. Mystery, in our sense, we call

[a] Sharon Turner gives an analysis of these Sentences. Hist. England. vol. v. p. iv. 1.

any of those profound doctrines, which the human intellect cannot fathom; but Μυστήριον is only a secret, which when revealed, is no longer a mystery. Thus St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, designates the admission of the Gentiles into the church as formerly *not made known, but now revealed;* yet still an intelligible proposition; and to the Corinthians he writes, *I show you a mystery.* The heathens used the word in the same sense, for the Eleusinian and other religious mysteries, though mysterious to the profane vulgar, were no secrets to the initiated. Mystery, in the Greek Testament, is never applied to any external rite, though it was early applied by the Greek church to the Eucharist, probably in imitation of the heathen secret rites; and we read in our own communion service, that Christ "hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries as pledges of his love." Sacramentum was first employed with a reference to religion by a Pagan, the younger Pliny, who in his celebrated letter to his friend and master, the Emperor Trajan, so honourable to the primitive Christians, informs him, that they were in the habit of meeting before day to bind themselves, sacramento, not to any crime, but that they would not commit theft, robbery, adultery, not to betray confidence, and not to refuse to restore a deposit. As Pliny reported what they had told him, they might use the word in the Christian sense, though he would take it in its classical, meaning an oath; and this is strengthened by so early an author as Tertullian, who calls the Lord's Supper the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as he does Baptism, that of water, and of sanctification. Sacrament, we know, was used formerly in a large sense, and this no doubt occasioned the abuse of it in mediæval theology. "The name," says the Homily, "may in a general acceptation be attributed to any thing whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word the ancient writers have given this name not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven Sacraments, but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like, not meaning thereby to repute them as Sacraments in the same signification as

Baptism and the Lord's Supper are." It is certainly more convenient, and more favourable to the forming of clear ideas, that Sacraments and mere rites, being in themselves so different, should be called by different names. We are far from wishing to engage in verbal disputes, but the Council of Trent forbids the word to be taken in a lower sense, and maintains the seven to be vere et proprie Sacraments, and anathematizes those who reckon fewer or more. To ascertain which party is in the right, we must define terms. The definition of Augustine, "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," is familiar to us, because it has been introduced into our Catechism; and that of Trent is "a sensible thing, which, by divine institution, causes as well as signifies holiness and righteousness." Our Catechism adds, "ordained by Christ himself, as the means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof." And the definition in this Article is substantially the same. The Catechism seems to use the word in the old lax sense, when it says, two only are generally necessary to salvation; and the Roman Catholics so far agree with us; for avowedly Matrimony, instead of being required in all, is forbidden to the clergy, and discouraged in the laity; and Ordination is of necessity restricted to the former. In several it is difficult to discover either inward grace or outward sign, and in the five, which as Sacraments we reject, divine command. Three, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, they say impress a character which is indelible, and therefore are not to be reiterated. While we reject the five as Sacraments, we retain them in a lower sense, and have turned them into religious offices. Confession and Absolution are incorporated into our liturgy, and Extreme Unction has been superseded by Visitation of the Sick; Confirmation is retained as an impressive rite, and both Orders and Matrimony are sanctified by special services.

All Christians, Friends alone excepted, will agree with the Article, that "Sacraments are ordained of Christ, and are the badges and tokens of Christian men's profession." Anti-Trinitarians go no farther, but all other denominations consider this definition, though true, as

incomplete. Sacraments, according to the Church of Rome, consist of matter, deriving, from the action of the Priest in pronouncing certain words, a divine virtue, by which grace is conveyed to the soul of every recipient. He must be free from any of the sins called mortal, but he is not required to exercise any good disposition, to possess faith, or even to resolve to amend his life. For such is considered the physical virtue of a Sacrament, administered by a Priest with a good intention, that unless when opposed by the obstacle of a mortal sin, the very act of receiving it is sufficient. This act was called in the language of the schools, opus operatum, the work done, independently of any disposition of mind attending that work; and the superiority of the Sacraments of the New Testament to those of the Old was proved by showing, that the latter were effectual, ex opere operantis, from the piety and faith of the doer, while the former convey grace, ex opere operato, from their own intrinsic virtue. This represents the Sacraments as a mere charm, the use of which being totally disjoined from every mental exercise, cannot be regarded as a reasonable service. This view is condemned in the conclusion of the Article, and the condemnation is sustained by an appeal to the Apostle. "In such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation, but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith." We rest therefore in a middle point, neither reducing them to mere rites, nor exalting them as irresistible medicine that acts mechanically upon the soul. We regard them as signs, intended to represent an inward visible grace, which proceeds from Him by whom they are appointed, and as pledges, that that grace will be conveyed to all who receive them with the proper disposition, as seals of the covenant of grace, following the expression of the Apostle to the Romans[b]. It is usual for covenants among men to be confirmed by certain solemnities. In the simplicity of ancient times, large stones were raised as the memorials of any important transaction; in more advanced stages of society, the solemnities

[b] Rom. iv. 11.

have been deeds sealed and delivered. As circumcision was ordained as the token and seal of the covenant with Abraham, we are led to expect that when this same covenant was made known to other nations, God would be pleased to grant some sensible sign, which might establish a reliance upon his promise, and constitute the ground of a federal act. Our two Sacraments, and they alone, come up to this notion, and hereby are distinguished from rites, for no rite not of divine appointment can be conceived to be a seal of God's promise, or a pledge of any gift that cometh from Him. Hence that any rite may answer our definition of a Sacrament, we require in it not merely a vague and general resemblance between the external matter, which is the visible substance of the rite, and the thing thereby signified, but also words of institution, and a promise by which the two are connected together. Accordingly, we reject five of the seven Sacraments of Rome, because in some we do not find any matter, without which there is not the sign which enters into our definition, and in others no promise connecting the matter used with the grace thereby signified, although upon this connexion, the essence of a Sacrament depends. Our Church has distinctly tied the wholesome effect of Sacraments to the qualification of the recipients. As the word of God is said to *work effectually*, but only *in them that believe*, so the Sacraments are only effectual signs to those who worthily receive them. This view is supported by Hooker[c], who says, "Sacraments contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy; they are not physical but moral instruments of salvation; duties of service and worship, which unless we perform them as the Author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable, for all receive not the grace of God which receive the Sacraments of his grace." And that this was the opinion of the framers of our Articles in Edward's reign, which substantially agree with those of Elizabeth's, is put beyond doubt, by a recently recovered letter of Peter Martyr, which tells us, "that grace conferred by virtue of the Sacraments, is a point which many were desirous should be established by public authority. Others who saw clearly

[c] E. Polity, v. 57. 4.

how many superstitions such a determination would bring with it, made it a primary point to endeavour in all ways to show, that nothing more is to be granted to the Sacraments than to the external Word of God; for by both is signified to us the salvation obtained for us through Christ, which as many are made partakers of as believe these signs and words, not indeed by the virtue of them, but by the efficacy of faith. Moreover it was added, that it was impossible they should be worthily received, unless those who received them have beforehand that which is signified by them; for if faith be not present, they are always received unworthily; but if they who come to the Sacrament are endowed with faith, they have already received through faith the grace proclaimed in the Sacraments, and then the reception and use of them is the seal of the promise already apprehended." The Church of Rome, from its predilection for the number seven, has probably enumerated so many, for though something might be urged in behalf of Confirmation, Penance, and Extreme Unction, we can see no ground for admitting Orders and Marriage, which, as the Article observes, are "states of life." They are positively excluded by the Catechism description, 'generally necessary to salvation;' and it is remarkable, that what is exalted to be a Sacrament, is at the same time denied to the Clergy. The five commonly called Sacraments must be understood to mean commonly in that age, and of the Gospel, as opposed to Sacraments in the large and ancient sense.

CONFIRMATION.

In a Church into which members are unconsciously received, before they are capable of volition, it is a reasonable and edifying custom, that "children being come to years of discretion, and having learnt what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in Baptism, may themselves with their own mouth and consent openly before the congregation ratify and confirm the same." It originated no doubt in an imitation of the conduct of Peter and John, who went down to Samaria, where the inhabitants had been

baptized by Philip, and laid their hands upon the converts, who then received the Holy Ghost[d]. And this fact is also assigned as a reason, why the administration of this rite should be restricted to the highest order of the Clergy. It is obvious however, that it was the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost that were then bestowed: and the extending it to the ordinary ones, lowers, if it does not altogether take away, baptismal grace. It seems safer, if it requires Scriptural authority, to urge in its favour this verse from the Epistle to the Hebrews[e]. *Of the doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of hands,* which are summed up among *the principles of the doctrine of Christ*, after the mention of repentance and faith, and subsequent to baptism. The mode of its administration in early times is thus described by Bingham. Immediately after the baptized came up out of the water, they were presented for the benediction of the minister, which was a solemn prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and to this there was usually joined the ceremony of a second unction, and the imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross. If the Bishop were absent, then Confirmation was deferred till he could visit them. Infants were confirmed as well as adults; and this practice prevailed in the western church as long as they received the eucharist, which continued from the time of Cyprian to that of Charlemagne. The rite was administered by priests, till limited by Pope Innocent the First to bishops, who may at their discretion delegate the office to an inferior minister. Such a confirmation resembles that of our reformed church little more than in name, and was no better than a superstitious perversion of an apostolical act. But it should be known that the ancients regarded it as no more than the completion of the Sacrament of Baptism. To make it a Sacrament, the Church of Rome appoints as the matter chrism, that is, a mixture of olive oil and balsam, which must have episcopal benediction; and as the form, the anointing with it the forehead, with the words, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of

[d] Acts viii. [e] Heb. vi. 2.

the Holy Ghost." We have no scriptural authority for the use of oil, except for anointing the sick, and the Church accordingly has no right to make it sacramental. Burnet seems to rest our retaining Confirmation upon its expediency; and adds, here is no Sacrament, for the laying on of hands is only a gesture in prayer, nor is it a federal rite. The Helvetic Confession condemns it together with Extreme Unction, as human inventions which the Church can dispense with without loss, and which have in them some things that cannot be approved. Calvin[g], however, regarded it as an edifying rite, and wished it to be revived. And this custom we learn from Rivet[h], having been corrupted among the papists, was restored by the Protestant Church of France to its lawful use, by catechising, and blessing of children in prayer, before their admission to the Lord's Supper. The utility of some preparation for a first communion will hardly be disputed; and the present doctrine of Rome is, that it is inexpedient to administer Confirmation to those who have not reached the use of reason. It is regarded as strengthening and confirming the grace of Baptism, and having annexed to it the promise of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; and in our liturgy the Bishop is instructed to pray, that the confirmed may be strengthened with the Holy Ghost the Comforter, and that God would daily increase in them his manifold gifts of grace.

PENANCE

Is the next Sacrament which we reject, as not answering to our definition. It is divided between the penitent and the confessor; the former supplying the matter, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; the latter, the form, which consists of this sentence, "I absolve thee." *Contrition* will be allowed by all to be required from a sinner, for it is a detestation of sin, because it is hateful in the sight of God; but Romish casuists have contrived to do away its necessity, by maintaining the sufficiency of *attrition* to give validity to this Sacrament; and this pernicious distinction is allowed

[g] Inst. iv. 19.

[h] Rivet. Cathol. Orth. Tract. iii. as quoted in Bingham's French Churches, Apology for the Church of England.

by the Council of Trent: pernicious I am justified in calling it, for attrition is the sorrow that is felt for the consequences of sin, and is therefore compatible with the love of it. "This will indeed," says Bishop Burnet, "make many run to the Sacrament, and raise its value; but it will raise it upon the ruins of true piety and holiness: we conclude, therefore," he continues, "that this wounds religion in its vitals, and we are confirmed in the opinion by the confessions on the subject of the best writers in that communion." Contrition is to show itself in confession, which is called auricular, to distinguish it from public, and because it is whispered into the ear of the priest, who neither sees nor is seen by the penitent; and this confession must be particular and unreserved, and of offences against the tenth, as well as against the other commandments, that is, of wicked thoughts and desires as well as of words and actions. It is however not insisted upon oftener than once a year. Confession is to be followed by satisfaction, that is, by the penance enjoined, which by the constant practice of the Church for above twelve centuries was to precede Absolution, except in extraordinary cases, such as death or martyrdom. In later times, the necessity of confession has been carried higher, and the obligation of satisfaction lowered; the former has been rendered essential, but the latter is no longer considered as such, though without satisfaction taken in its proper sense there can be no genuine repentance, since repentance is nothing but that *godly sorrow which produces reformation not to be repented of*[g]. The Church of Rome is desirous that the penitent should suffer; yet she finds a difficulty in enforcing this, because the Priest's absolution gives complete forgiveness even of mortal sins, without such suffering. It is therefore said that God is described as forgiving sins, when those forgiven have some partial temporary punishment continued, and that in a Christian, even after penance and absolution, there are embers as it were of sin, remains of vicious habits, from which danger is to be apprehended. For the continuance of some punishment, and for the counteracting of these remains, it is judged proper to set some

[g] 2 Cor. vii. 10.

kind of tasks to be performed after absolution. It is added, that when the Church has been witness to a man's offending, it should have the satisfaction of seeing some marks of amendment. The satisfactions enjoined are to be prayers, alms, and fasting, which concern God, our neighbours, and ourselves. As early as the eighth century, the repetition of prayers and the giving alms were substituted for those acts of austerity which come more under our notion of doing penance. Next, the paying for masses was allowed, then came pilgrimages, and the crusades, and in the twelfth century, indulgences. The penitent having performed his part, the Priest completes the sacrament by absolution; and the Council of Trent anathematizes those who declare it not to be a judicial act, but a mere ministerial declaration of the remission of sins. A judicial absolution can only be pronounced by man with propriety, from Church censures, or from punishments which he may be authorized to remit. Absolution from the punishments of a future state depends upon the sincerity of the penitent's repentance, which God alone can know, and must be therefore conditional. In the form which follows our General Confession, the minister is only authorized to pronounce the absolution of those who have faith and repentance. The uniform practice of primitive times accords with Protestant notions, for the Church never till the twelfth century claimed to forgive as God, and in cases of absolution from censures, prayers were offered that He would forgive the offender as the Church had done. The forms of absolution which have been in use are four: the precatory, the optative, the indicative, and the declarative; as, God forgive this penitent—May God pardon and deliver you from all your sins—I absolve thee from all thy sins—God pardoneth all them that truly repent. Our Church uses the declaratory in morning and evening Prayer; the optative, which is in sense precatory, in the Communion Service; and the indicative, in the Visitation of the Sick. The latter began to be used in the twelfth century; and, to soften an expression which seemed new and bold, it was added, as far as is granted to my frailty, or, as far as the pardon is in me; nor did it before the

fourteenth supersede the ancient precatory form. The idea that naturally rises out of these words, says Burnet, is, that the Priest pardons sin; and since that is subject to such abuses, and has let in so much corruption, we think we have not only reason to deny that Penance is a Sacrament, but also to affirm that Roman Catholics have corrupted the doctrine of repentance in all its branches. Some, however, may say, that our own Church is not free from these objections, since it recommends private confession to a Priest, and has the same indicative absolution, and in the same words. We reply, that this absolution is only granted to the sick, and if they humbly and heartily desire it; and that from the precatory form with which it begins, and from the prayer that follows, it is inferred, that the person absolved has faith and repentance. The sick person also is only to be moved to make a special confession, *if* he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; and so far is our Church from exacting this from those in health, that in the Exhortation communicants are recommended to confess their sins to Almighty God; and it is only when they cannot otherwise quiet their consciences, and require further comfort or counsel, that they are directed to open their grief to a Minister, and that too one of their own choice, and clearly only with a reference to their fitness for coming to the Lord's table. Repentance and faith are the conditions upon which we are admitted into the Christian covenant, and whenever after that admission we are guilty of any breach of the divine law, repentance is an indispensable duty. This we know, if sincere, will be accepted for our Saviour's sake; for St. John declares, that *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins*[h]; faithful, because he has promised; just, because Christ has borne the penalty of the transgressions of all real believers, that is, of those who lament their failures, and are endeavouring to obey his commandments. This doctrine differs widely from the sacrament of Penance, requiring particular confession to a

[h] 1 John viii. 9.

Priest, which did not prevail till a late age, and receives no support from Scripture. For the confession recommended by St. James[i], is of offences against our neighbour, which is a sort of reparation, and is not to be made to a Priest, but to be mutual; *confess your sins one to another.* Moreover it is enjoined in order to procure not absolution but intercession, and therefore he adds, *pray for one another;* and this is confirmed by the conclusion, *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much.* The practice we reject seems to have originated in the readmission into the Church of persons who had lapsed in times of persecution. These were required to make a public confession of their offence in the presence of the congregation. In this manner confession became a part of ecclesiastical discipline, and was gradually extended from public to private sins. Independently of the shame and exposure of public confession, the offender was compelled to submit to public reproofs, to acts of penance, and to a temporary exclusion from the Lord's Supper. Public confession had been found on long trial to be inseparable from serious objections, and therefore was in time commuted for a private one to the Bishop, or to penitentiary priests of his appointment. The penance imposed was still performed publicly, though the sin was concealed. The fathers who recommended confession, did not urge it as a necessary prerequisite to pardon, but as procuring for the penitent an interest in the prayer of the congregation; while the greatest of the Latin, Augustine, does not scruple to say, "What have I to do with men that they should hear my confession, as though they could heal my disease?" And Chrysostom's language is, "I do not bring thee to the theatre of thy fellow-servants, neither do I constrain thee to discover sins to men. Unclasp thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds to him, and from him ask a medicine." As time introduced a change of manners, men grew reluctant to submit to the exposure of public penance, and it was found expedient to allow its performance in a monastery, or in any unfrequented place in the presence of a few witnesses. Solitary auricular

[i] James v. 16.

confession gradually superseded public, and became of course more searching and circumstantial. It was not enjoined till the third Lateran Council, A. D. 1215, and was decreed to be an ordinance of Christ, and absolutely necessary to salvation, in the Council of Trent. I readily concede, that the intention of instituting secret confession was good; but it was a serious mistake even in theory, and in practice it has been found to be of the most demoralizing character, both to penitent and confessor. It has ruined the peace of families, and it has taught the priest to enslave and to pollute the mind. It blunts the delicacy of feeling, gradually removes the barrier of modesty, hardens the conscience, instructs the innocent in sins of which they were happily ignorant, and defiles the imagination, even if it should not warp the judgment or corrupt the heart. It must strengthen vicious habits, by forcing the mind to dwell upon temptations, our best security against which is to drive them away as instigations to sin, by pursuing other trains of thought, or, what is better still, by active occupations. "To me," says Hey, "it seems bad even in theory; that is, mischievous, not through mere abuse. And what can be expected from reducing indeterminate duties to determinate laws, but a mechanical religion, coldness, and evasion? What man pays with generous fervour, what he is obliged to pay by law? What can be expected from requiring towards strangers that confidence, and those effusions of sincerity and contrition, which every delicate mind reserves for a few intimate friends, but hypocrisy or self-deceit!" Pascal[k] has exposed the doctrine of probability maintained by the Jesuits, which allows a man to act against his own conviction by deferring to the judgment of some divine, whose different opinion renders it probable, that what he thought sinful may be innocent; and their casuists have composed bulky volumes, as it should seem with the express purpose of enabling confessors to absolve persons, who have committed grievous crimes contrary to their own consciences. This was indeed an awful abuse, but I wonder it escaped the sagacity of this pious Jansenist and

[k] Les Provinciales.

profound reasoner, that the fault was not only in the authors whom he has condemned to infamy, but in the system itself. Happily the Bible, which allows of no substitution of a Church for the Saviour, nor of the interposition of a saint between him and us, rejects the introduction of a fellow-sinner, as the instrument of conveying his free forgiveness; and judicial absolution, which is again and again pronounced even of those who, though willing to submit to *penance*, give no signs of genuine *repentance*, can hardly fail to harden the conscience, which the rules of the Confessional have familiarized with all the minute distinctions of sin, which an unscrupulous casuistry has discovered.

EXTREME UNCTION.

This sacrament, as the Roman Catholics call it, is a strange perversion of the Apostolical practice of anointing the sick with a view to their recovery; and bears this name as the sacrament of the dying, because it is the last anointing, oil having been previously employed in Baptism, and in Confirmation. It appears to have been the custom among the Jews, to use oil when they attempted the recovery of the sick; and the custom was retained by the Apostles when they looked for recovery, not to God's blessing upon medicine, but to his direct miraculous interference. Accordingly Mark[1] informs us, that when their Master sent forth the twelve by two and two, *they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them;* and St. James directs, that the elders of the Church should pray over the sick, *anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord;* adding, *the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.* The efficacy was ascribed not to the anointing, but to the gift of healing; but as miraculous powers were not suddenly withdrawn but gradually ceased, this custom accompanied with prayer was continued, in the hope rather than the expectation of a cure, and that through the operation of God's ordinary providence. And we find a form of prayer in Pope Gregory's Sacramentary, which shows that the object then

[1] Mark vi.

sought by this anointing, was the recovery of bodily health, as is still the case in the Greek church. In the twelfth century, failure was so frequent, that the notion was introduced that it was meant for the benefit of the soul, and only of the body if bodily health would not prove prejudicial to the former. A change in its administration now took place, for they anointed no longer the diseased organs, but those which were regarded as the instruments of sin. Prayer had been always offered for the soul of the sick as preparatory to bodily cure, but now it became the principal part. The Schoolmen brought it into a sacramental form, and it was decreed by the Council of Florence, and confirmed under anathema at Trent. We are taught by that Council, that Christ intimated it in St. Mark's Gospel, and published it by St. James. The Church, it adds, learns from Tradition, that the matter of the Sacrament is oil, and the form, God by his holy unction and his mercy pardon thee, whatever sins thou hast committed through the sight, the hearing, &c. The effect is to wipe off sin, and to promote, where beneficial to the soul, the health of the body. The ceremony was for a season retained by our Reformers, but in King Edward's second Liturgy was superseded by an Office for the Visitation of the Sick. Orders and Matrimony are "states of life," and have sacramentary character, for they are not only not required from all believers, but are even considered incompatible.

ORDINATION.

Our Church acknowledges the Ministry as a divine appointment, but rejects it as a sacrament; for though it was ordained by Christ, he has never promised to make it the channel of conveying grace, and it has neither matter nor form, only a separation of the persons ordained to a sacred office, by the imposition of hands and prayer. It was not till the eleventh century that the present practice was introduced, of delivering the vessels, accompanied with words authorizing the ordained person to offer sacrifices to God, and to celebrate Masses both for the living and the dead. But if these be the matter and the form, then,

according to their own showing, our opponents must confess that Orders is a sacrament of recent institution, since for the first ten centuries no other ceremonies were used on that occasion but the imposition of hands with prayer. The Schoolmen maintain, that the Priest has the power both of consecrating and absolving, and that he is ordained to the former in the manner above named, to the latter by the Bishop's laying on of hands, and saying, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained.*

MATRIMONY.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, St. Paul, inculcating the duties of husbands and wives, says, *this is a great mystery.* If in the Latin Bible Μυστήριον had not been here as in other places rendered Sacramentum, Matrimony would probably never have been exalted into a sacrament. This is an argument, if it can be called an argument, only in one language; translate it, and it disappears; but even in Latin it is but the shadow of an argument, for the Apostle tells us, that when he says, *this is a great mystery*, he is speaking not of the union between husband and wife, but of that between Christ and his Church. I know of no other text that can be adduced to support the sacramental character of marriage; for *they two shall be one flesh*, urged by the Council of Trent, does not establish it; and that Council, in considering this and their other sacraments, seems to be much perplexed, for it mentions neither matter nor form. The Roman doctors indeed assign the inward consent of the parties as conveyed by signs and words. Still such matter and form are common to all mutual compacts; and the practical evil of this definition is obvious, since it suspends the moral validity of the contract upon the inclinations of either party. The Supreme Being is not a party, which seems essential to a sacrament, nor can it be reasonably said to convey grace. No unbelievers can partake of a sacrament; in what light then do Roman Catholics regard their marriages? But we know that Matrimony is a divine institution, previous not only to the incarnation of

Christ, but the first notification of Christianity; for Adam and Eve were united by their Creator in Paradise, before their fall gave occasion to the merciful scheme of the redemption of themselves and their descendants from its consequences. Bingham shows, that marriages were solemnized by the Clergy for the first three hundred years. The custom afterwards ceased, but it revived in the eighth century. So important an engagement ought to take place before witnesses; and the presence and the benediction of a spiritual person has a tendency to impress upon the parties their obligations to fulfil their vows, by making them in the house of God and before his ministers. Still the contract is clearly of a civil nature, and as such only is it recognised by our Lord. He declared it to be permanent, and to be only broken by infidelity, which is in fact a violation of it. So it is still regarded by the Greek Church, and was acknowledged by early Councils in the west. St. Gregory and succeeding Popes allowed the innocent party to marry another; but when it was finally settled at Trent that marriage was a sacrament, its perpetuity, which had for some time been the prevalent doctrine, was determined. It is extraordinary, that we who reject it as a sacrament, unlike other Protestants, still retain this consequence of its sacramental character; for by the law of England, marriage is indissoluble, and each divorce is only obtained by a specific Act of Parliament; a grievance to the injured party, who if he has the means, is made to pay dearly for an act of justice, if he is poor, is denied redress. It is a grievance, however, for which our Reformers are not responsible; they determined the dissolution of marriage by adultery, as appears from the Reformatio Legum; but the jealousy of Elizabeth, and the negligence of subsequent ages, have prevented its ratification; so that while our Ritual and Articles are Protestant, we are still mainly governed in ecclesiastical matters by the Papal Canon Law. Separation from bed and board is an invention of the Canonist, to render the burden tolerable, but such separation does not permit the forming a second contract. A Protestant is astonished, that a Church which confers sacramental dignity upon marriage restricts it to

the laity, and treats it even in them as less honourable than celibacy.

It is added, that Sacraments, meaning thereby the Lord's Supper, are not to be gazed upon or carried about, but that we should duly use them. In Roman Catholic countries, the host or victim, as the bread or rather wafer is called, is held up after consecration for the adoration of the people, and is carried in procession under a canopy, attended by the Priest, and others, bearing lights even in the day time, to the sick who wish to communicate, for the elements are never consecrated as with us in a house. No text can be found to recommend such respect, nor was it the practice of the primitive church. It naturally arose out of the belief, that it had been transubstantiated into the body of the Saviour, and ceases of course with that belief.

ARTICLE XXVI.

OF THE UNWORTHINESS OF THE MINISTERS, WHICH HINDERS NOT THE EFFECT OF THE SACRAMENT.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

The Sacraments have been defined as effectual signs of grace, yet they do not act mechanically as charms. They are appointed channels, but the reception of grace depends upon the disposition of the receiver; for, as it is said in the conclusion of the last Article, "in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith." The error here condemned had become so prevalent, that the Sacraments are scarcely ever named without a caution against this abuse. Thus in the XXVIIth we have, "they that receive Baptism *rightly* are grafted into the Church;" in the XXVIIIth, to "such as *rightly*, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ;" and it was thought necessary to maintain in a separate Article the XXIXth, that "the wicked communicant does not at the Lord's Supper eat the body of Christ." Another question arises as to the character of those who administer. Does the unworthiness of the Minister vitiate and annul the Sacrament? and in this Article it is answered in the negative.

The occasion that was given for this Article, was the heat of some at the beginning of the Reformation, who, disgusted by the open profligacy of the Clergy, revived the notion of the Donatists, that sacred functions were invalidated not only by heresy and schism, but by the personal sins of those who administered them. There are passages in Cyprian which seem to favour this view. The Donatists, near a century later, separated upon no doctrinal point, but on the appointment of Cæcilianus to the Bishopric of Carthage, both as a man of immoral character, and as having been consecrated by one, who in a time of persecution had through fear delivered up the Scriptures to those who claimed them, in order to destroy them. A church governed by such persons, they said, could be no true church, because all its ordinances, even the Sacraments, must lose their proper effect under such administration. "Against this," Burnet tells us, "Augustine set himself very zealously, and answered all that was brought from Cyprian in such a manner, as to

teach us how we ought to separate the just respect due to the Fathers, from an implicit receiving of all their notions." Wickliffe had been condemned by the Council of Constance, among other propositions, for affirming, that if a bishop or priest live in mortal sin, he doth not ordain, baptize, or consecrate; and Luther says of the Anabaptists, that they condemn true baptism on account of the vices or unworthiness of men. In this Article, not only do the Helvetic and Augsburg Confessions agree with us, but also the Trent Catechism, which is drawn up in similar language.

The Article contains in itself sufficient proof of its assertion. First it maintains, that we may lawfully attend the preaching of an unworthy minister, and receive from him the Sacrament, because he acts not in his own name, but in that of Christ, and by his authority. Secondly, though the Sacraments be ministered by evil men, their effect is not thereby taken away or diminished from those who by faith and rightly do receive them. We must distinguish between the acts of the clergy as public officers and as individuals. The value of their private prayers will depend upon their own inward disposition; their public functions are equally efficacious whatever be their character. And if miraculous virtue may be inherent in bad men, so that in the great day some of those to whom Christ shall say, *I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity*[x], may yet with truth reply, *Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works?* certainly this may be concluded much more confidently concerning permanent officers in the church. The efficacy of ministerial acts has been confounded with the duty of ministers. No doubt it is wrong for ministers to be vicious, still if they act by a divine commission, benefits may be received through their agency. So it is wrong for a magistrate to be vicious, yet we may receive redress and protection from warrants signed by him. Our Saviour confirms this view, by telling his disciples to attend to the instructions of the Scribes and Pharisees, because *they sit in Moses' seat*[y].

[x] Matt. vii. 23, 24.

[y] Matt. xxiii. 2.

The latter paragraph is too clear to need explanation or proof; it seems intended to obviate an objection that might be made to the former. If any should think that the wickedness of Ministers is treated too lightly, it corrects the impression; the evil is great, but it suggests the punishment of the guilty, not of the innocent. Proceed against them, but do not prevent the people from benefiting by institutions designed for their benefit.

The Article says in conclusion, that "it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that evil Ministers be accused by those who have knowledge of their offences, and finally being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed." Timothy is required to receive *accusation of an elder, to rebuke before all, those that sinned, and to withdraw himself from those teachers who consented not to wholesome words, and that supposed gain was godliness*[y]. The discipline of the primitive Church lay heaviest on the Clergy; and such of them as either apostatized or fell into scandalous sins, though upon their repentance received into the peace of the Church, were never readmitted into their ministry. The love of believers soon waxed cool, and instead of teaching "persuasion to do the work of fear," gentleness yielded to severity; and the stern ecclesiastic is unfavourably contrasted with Paul, who restores to communion a repentant brother, lest he should be swallowed up by overmuch sorrow[z]. The Church of Rome agrees with ours in this Article, yet maintains an error nearly connected with it: one indeed not expressly referred to, yet which we cannot doubt would have been rejected, the necessity of the Priest's intention to give validity to the Sacraments. This is carried so far, that it is a rule in the rubrics of the Missal, that if a Priest about to consecrate twelve wafers, should have a general intention to omit one of them without specifying it, no consecration ensues. And thus they make the secret acts of a Priest's mind so to influence divine appointments, that by his malice, impiety, or mere absence of mind, he can render the Sacraments which he visibly blesses and administers, the mere outward shows of them. If this be true, no one can

[y] 1 Tim. v. 19, 20; vi. 3. 5. [z] 2 Cor. ii. 7.

be at ease; for no one can know whether or not he has ever really partaken of the Lord's Supper, or even if he has been baptized. This may be carried so far as to annihilate the Church, for a man never baptized, cannot be truly ordained; so that all the ordinances and the succession of Ministers may be broken by the impiety or carelessness of one Priest. This, says Burnet, we look upon as such a chain of absurdities, that if this doctrine of intention were true, it alone might serve to destroy the whole credit of the Christian religion, in which the Sacraments are taught to be both necessary and efficacious, and yet their efficacy is made to depend upon that which can neither be known nor prevented.

ARTICLE XXVII.

OF BAPTISM.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

The Church having, as we have seen, with sufficient cause rejected five of the Sacraments received by Rome, proceeds to define and explain the two which she retains.

All societies require some mark of distinction by which its members should be known by themselves and others, as constituting one body; and the Church being a society formed by God, the initiatory rule of admission into it has been chosen not by man but by Him. Baptism then is

God's seal, set by his own authority upon those who are visibly his children. It is, as the Article expresses it, "a sign of profession and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that are not christened." Baptism, whether administered by immersion or by affusion, is a significant emblem, through washing away the filth of the flesh, of the purification of the soul: and to this interpretation we are directed by the Prophets, *I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy offspring*[a]; *then I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean*[b]. The baptism of infants shows that it is not only needful that human nature should be cleansed from the pollution contracted by actual transgressions, but that such is the taint inherited from our progenitor Adam, that it must be purified antecedently to the possibility of the commission of sin.

In all nations, whether the notion was derived from tradition, or from the consciousness that men were not what they ought to be, religious worship consisted largely of purifications. There are many in the Mosaic ritual: and though Circumcision, which in another manner indicated the necessity of inward purity, was the seal of God's covenant both with Abraham and with Moses; yet in later ages, the Jews reasoning from this analogy baptized as well as circumcised their heathen proselytes, to denote their purifying them from the uncleanness of idolatry; and such proselytes were described as born again. St. John, who from his chief employment is called the Baptist, invited the Jews themselves to repentance, and they were baptized by him confessing their sins. This was an invitation never heard before, and it was designed to show that the seed of Abraham, though the people of God, needed as well as the heathen inward purification. The Jews of his time must have been persuaded that the Messiah, and even his expected herald Elijah, would baptize; for when John disclaimed being either, they said, *why baptizest thou then*[c]*?* Our Saviour had no sins to confess, yet even he submitted to this preparatory ordinance, to profess his belief in the necessity of

[a] Isaiah xliv. 2. [b] Ezekiel xxxvi. 25. [c] John i. 25.

repentance for the reception of the Messiah; and by his Apostles he baptized into the expectation of that deliverer whom John had announced. In his last commission he instituted Christian Baptism, which differs from that of John in requiring faith as well as repentance, and by the promise of the remission of sins. Those who were baptized among the heathen, were baptized into certain mysteries; and the Jews are said by the Apostle Paul to have been *baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.* Those who received John's Baptism were baptized unto the expectation of him whom John announced, and into repentance of the sins which John condemned; and Christians are baptized into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that is, into the religion of which creation by the first, redemption by the second, and sanctification by the third, is the essential and distinguishing doctrine. So plainly are the offices, and of course the existence, of each person in the ever-blessed Trinity denoted in this Sacrament, that we cannot wonder if Socinians should wish to explain it away. Socinus treats it as an institution highly proper at the forming of the Church out of Jews and idolaters, but as since superseded by the general profession of Christianity. It appeared to him that what was intended merely to serve as a discriminating rite, ceases of course where there is no need of discrimination, and that the observance of it is important only in the rare cases of the conversion of persons who had been educated in another religion. His followers have not paid so much deference to him as to leave off baptism, yet they entertain the same opinion. "They would make no great difficulty," says Dr. Priestley, "of omitting it entirely in Christian families, but do not think it of importance enough to act otherwise than their ancestors, in a matter of so great indifference." The Friends are the only denomination who do not baptize, yet as there is a Canon of the Council of Trent against them who deny water baptism, there must have been then persons who rejected it. When the Baptist says, *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the*

[d] 1 Cor. x. 2.

Holy Ghost and with fire[e]*;* it appears to the Friends, that he means by this contrast to represent his own baptism as emblematical of that of Jesus; and to intimate that the baptism by water, which was the sign, should cease as soon as the baptism with the Holy Ghost, which was the thing signified, should commence. The baptism of the Apostles they consider an accommodation to the prejudices of the times, till the spiritual nature of the Gospel was understood; and they find in the miraculous effusion of the gifts of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, called by our Lord himself baptism by the Holy Ghost, the true interpretation of that word as it occurs in his discourses. Other Christians are not satisfied with this reasoning; they do not admit the general principle, that all signs are superseded on the coming of the things they signify; and with respect to this particular case, they think that there is no limitation in the commission to the Apostles as to time; and therefore as baptism was retained by the primitive Church, and has been continued ever since, they believe that our Lord designed it to be always the admission into his religion.

Baptism from its very nature, as signifying by outward washing the necessity of inward purity, accompanied as it has ever been by a confession of belief in the Christian faith; a renunciation of the devil, and of the pomps and vanities of the world, and a dedication of the baptized to the service of the true God, is a ceremony well calculated to produce on adult recipients, and on those who witness the administration of it, a powerful moral effect. But this appears to all denominations of Christians except Unitarians to be, though true as far as it goes, an incomplete view of Baptism, which they believe to be not merely an impressive rite, but a sacrament; which a former Article defined to be "an effectual sign of grace, and of God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work in us invisibly." Baptizing into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, exhibits them under relations which give an assurance of the communication of blessings to those thus baptized. Such expressions as, *He that believeth and is baptized shall*

[e] Matt. iii. 11.

be saved[f]*; Baptism saves us*[g]*; repent and be baptized for the remission of sins*[h]*;* could not be used with propriety, unless there was some connection between this Sacrament and the two characteristical blessings of the Gospel, forgiveness of sin and communication of grace. The Epistle to the Romans[i] illustrates it by an allusion drawn from the original form of Baptism. Immersion is an impressive emblem of the death unto sin, by which conversion is expressed; and rising out of the water, of the new life unto righteousness, into which believers are born by their Christian profession, and which the influence of the Holy Spirit can enable them to lead. Buried as it were with Christ in the laver of a spiritual birth, they emerge after the image of his resurrection into a life of righteousness here and of glory hereafter. This is a most significant representation of what they engaged to perform, of the grace by which their sins were forgiven, and the strength communicated to their souls, so that Baptism as thus interpreted is exalted from a mere "sign of profession and mark of difference," to a federal act, by which the mutual stipulations of the covenant of grace are confirmed. Accordingly St. Paul represents Baptism as succeeding to Circumcision; for to the Colossians[k] he proves it to be no longer necessary by this argument, that their being buried with Christ in Baptism was emblematical of that change of life and that internal purity which Circumcision intimated to Israel. And to the Romans he calls the sign of Circumcision, *a seal of the righteousness of the faith which Abraham had*, that is, a seal of his faith, *being counted to him as righteousness*[l]*;* and as the use of the sign was appointed to his posterity, it was to them also a seal of the covenant, confirming to all who received it, their share in the promise made to him. If therefore Baptism supply the place of Circumcision, and bring Christians under the same obligations to Christ, as Circumcision brought the Jews to the Law, it must also supply the same security and pledge for the blessings conveyed. And Circumcision is shown in the Epistle to the Galatians[m], to be more still than an intro-

[f] Mark xvi. 16. [g] 1 Pet. iii. 21. [h] Acts ii. 38. [i] Rom. vi. 3–5.
[k] Col. ii. 11, 12. [l] Rom. iv. 11. [m] Gal. iii.

duction to the Sinai covenant, being to Abraham a sign of the Gospel, that is of the good news, that in him should not only his own natural descendants, but all the nations of the earth be blessed. Consequently, it was to him not the sign of a covenant made with his descendants, of obedience, more than four centuries later, but as it is called in the Epistle to the Romans, *a seal of the righteousness of faith.*

Baptism, then, is not only a mark to distinguish the followers of Christ from the professors of any other religion, but by admitting us into covenant with God, changes our relation towards him. To all the descendants of Adam, He is a justly offended Creator, and will be hereafter a judge; but those who believe in his Son, he for his sake treats as adopted children, accepting us, who were born in sin, as our Catechism expresses it in the words of Scripture, *and children of wrath,* in Baptism as "*children of grace*, members of Christ, and inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven." We are in that sacrament emancipated from the usurped dominion of Satan, whose service we therein solemnly renounce, and are translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. The conditions on our part are repentance and faith. Grieved for our sins, and desirous of forsaking them, we embrace the doctrines, the precepts, and the promises of the Gospel, which include a free pardon of actual guilt, and the cancelling the imputation of the offence of Adam.

Thus far nearly all Christians agree, but the majority advance farther. They find regeneration or the new birth in Scripture applied to Christians, and in connection with water, and draw the conclusion, that Baptism not only brings us into a new *state*, but produces a new *disposition* suitable to that state; that we are not only adopted into God's family, but are begotten again, and obtain through this birth a new spiritual nature. The necessity of regeneration is allowed by all; but in modern times, many, not observing in all the baptized any signs of a spiritual nature, and even too many of them appearing to be notwithstanding *carnally minded,* and some even *dead in trespasses and sins*, are led to deny that regeneration is necessarily connected with Baptism. Still I think no candid person will deny,

that Baptism is regarded by our Church as the instrument of regeneration; and Doddridge and many estimable Dissenters have been of this opinion, and have stated it as their main objection to joining our Communion. The ninth Article, as we have observed, renders the Latin renati not born again, but baptized; in the fifteenth, we have baptized and born again in Christ as if inseparable; and in the Baptismal Service, not only of adults but of infants, the necessity of regeneration is first announced; then a prayer is offered up that they may be born again, and a declaration follows baptism that they are regenerate. So plain is this language, that our divines who object to this declaration, either with Bishop Hopkins make a distinction between regeneration properly so called, that is, an internal sanctification and an external ecclesiastical one, which admits into the visible church; or, taking the word in its natural meaning, pronounces the baptized only *hypothetically* regenerated, namely, upon the supposition in case of adults of their sincerity, and in that of infants of their possessing the disposition which shall lead them, when come to years of discretion, to keep their baptismal vows. The Bishop's distinction is, I conceive, untenable; the latter, as far as it concerns adults, would I apprehend be conceded by the strongest advocates for baptismal regeneration in our Church; for, faithful to the principle, that Sacraments do not work as charms necessarily ex opere operato, independent of the disposition of the receiver, she limits in this Article the regeneration effected in Baptism to those who *rightly* receive it. Now a right reception must refer to him who receives, not to him who administers. The case of infants is different; and though our Church allows of infant baptism, yet as adults are the proper subjects of this covenant rite, and they only stipulate in person, and at the time of stipulation perform their part of the covenant, we ought in considering the results of Baptism to argue from their case. In many discussions on the subject, however, the baptism of infants has been principally treated of, being, as we are in this Christian nation, with exceptions scarcely worth naming, all baptized in infancy; but this tends to obscure still more

a subject, over which on any theory some darkness will continue to rest. In as far as the benefits of the covenant depend upon faith and repentance, the Catechism says, that infants promise them by their sureties, which promise when come to a proper age they themselves are bound to perform; intimating thereby, that these benefits depend on their performance of their promise. Independently, however, of this stipulation, some prevenient grace may be imparted, which unless in after life resisted and extinguished, will form a Christian character, and which though in somewhat a lower sense than in the case of adults, may be fairly called regeneration. The ancient liturgies and the fathers agree in restricting regeneration to Baptism. Thus, one of the earliest, Justin Martyr, who presented his Apology for Christianity to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about forty years after the death of St. John, says, "I will relate the manner in which we dedicate ourselves to God, being renewed by Christ. Whoever are persuaded that these doctrines are true, and promise to live agreeably to them, are instructed to ask of God with fasting, forgiveness of their sins; and we also pray and fast together with them. They are then led by us to a place where there is water, and they are regenerated in the same manner that we ourselves were regenerated, for they are washed in the name of God the Father and Lord of all, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost; for Christ said, *if ye be not regenerated, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*" He means in his discourse with Nicodemus, in which he is supposed to refer to the baptism he was about himself to establish, a baptism, which should not only show by that of John the necessity of a new birth, but should ensure it. This interpretation of the text followed in our Baptismal Service, was never denied by any one before Calvin; and even he allows that Baptism regenerates those who receive it with proper faith, for he says of such, that they truly experience the efficacy of Christ's death in the mortification of the flesh, and the energy of his resurrection in the vivification of the Spirit; and adds that Paul calls baptism[n] the laver of regeneration,

[n] Titus iii. 6.

and renewing of the Holy Spirit. Thus we are promised, first, the gratuitous remission of sins and imputation of righteousness; and secondly, the grace of the Holy Spirit to form us to newness of life. The church of Rome carries this as well as other doctrines to an extreme, both irrational and immoral, declaring that Baptism infallibly conveys regeneration, and is *absolutely* necessary to salvation. Our own, which in this and other tenets endeavours to steer a middle (because it seems to be the scriptural) course, says no more of the two Sacraments in the catechism, than that they are *generally* necessary to salvation; and in her service for the baptism of adults, that it is necessary where it may be had. Regeneration itself, according to the interpretation of Rome, conveys higher privileges than is allowed by any of the reformed churches; for not only are actual transgressions and original sin declared therein pardoned, but the baptized are pronounced restored to the purity in which Adam was created. A person therefore baptized at the point of death, would upon this system enter undefiled into another world; but all sins committed after baptism must be expiated by the sacrament of penance. Against this doctrine, these expressions in the Article are levelled. "Although to those who believe and are baptized, or regenerate, there is no condemnation, the concupiscence which remains in them has the nature of sin." The Church of Scotland recedes in this as in other doctrines further from Rome than our own, though she defines Baptism to be a sign and seal of the covenant of grace; and adds of regeneration, "that grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it, that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated. Still, she continues, by the right use of this ordinance, the grace promised is not only offered, but really conferred by the Holy Ghost to such, (whether of age or infants,) as that grace belongeth unto, according unto the counsels of God's own will." Here regeneration is limited to the elect; but our Church in this and in other doctrines follows Augustine, who maintained, that all who were baptized were regenerated, but unless they were predestinated, they did not persevere in their

regenerate state. It is a modern sense put upon regeneration, and a belief of the indefectibility of the grace therein bestowed, and the consequent certain perseverance of the regenerate, which makes so many even in our Church hesitate to embrace the tenet of baptismal regeneration; but they argue upon a different meaning of the term, as is plain from a former Article, which says, that we may fall from this baptismal grace, and again recover it; and in the service, the priest, after declaring the baptized to be regenerate, calls upon the congregation to give thanks unto Almighty God, and with one accord to make prayers unto Him, that this child may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning. Even Calvin allows, that infants are regenerated in this ordinance; for he writes[o], "as the Lord, immediately after having made the covenant with Abraham, commanded it to be sealed in infants by an external sacrament, what cause will Christians also assign why they should not also seal the same in their children? The covenant is common, the reason for confirming it is common, the mode of confirmation alone is different; to them is was confirmed by circumcision, which among us has been succeeded by baptism, otherwise, if the testimony whereby the Jews were assured of the salvation of their seed be taken away from us, the advent of Christ will have rendered the grace of God less attested to us than it was to them." He continues, "let us never forget the similarity of Baptism and Circumcision, between which we discover a complete agreement in the internal mystery, the promises, the uses, and the efficacy. How, it is enquired, are infants regenerated, who have no knowledge of good or evil? we reply, that the work of God is not yet without existence, because we do not observe it. It is certain that some infants are saved, and that they are previously regenerated by the Lord is beyond all doubt. Adults who embrace Christianity are not to receive the sign of baptism without the intervention of faith and repentance, which alone can give them admission into the covenant; but that the infant children of believing

[o] Inst. xvi.

parents, being admitted to the inheritance of the covenant as soon as they are born, are also to be admitted to baptism." He concludes with saying, "How delightful is it to pious minds, not only to have verbal assurances, but even ocular proof, of their standing so high in the favour of their heavenly Father, that their posterity are also the objects of his care. It is no small stimulus to our education of them in the fear of God, to reflect, that they are acknowledged by him as his children as soon as they are born." It seems then that Calvin allows the grant of some grace to infants in baptism, for his reasoning extends beyond the elect to the children of all, and if God will at an early age accept the children of believers who are brought to him, the acceptance of one who is perfect in power and goodness, seems to show that they are not only admitted into the covenant by which they stand in a new relation to him, but receive a capability, (if they be not hereafter wanting to themselves,) to keep it. The Article itself seems to define what the Reformers meant by Regeneration, for it proceeds thus; "it is a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby as by an instrument they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church," that must be the true invisible church, for no one could doubt that it admitted them into the visible congregation, and it was said before, that it was a mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that are not christened. God's promises are therein signed and sealed, and in spiritual as in temporal matters, signing and sealing marks our actual obtaining what is so signed and sealed. The first of these promises is the forgiveness of sin. *Through this man is preached to you the forgiveness of sins*[p]. *And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord*[q]. The second promise is, adoption by the Holy Ghost as the sons of God; faith is also said to be confirmed by it, and grace increased by prayer; and these two clauses, and the expression increased not given, seem to show, that this part of the Article refers chiefly to adults. I extract the judgment of Waterland.

[p] Acts xiii. 38. [q] Acts xxii. 16.

Taking for his text the passage in Titus[r], *He saved us by the washing* or laver *of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost*, he proceeds to show, that Baptism ordinarily carries with it in adults fitly prepared, both regeneration and renovation. Regeneration on the part of the granter, God Almighty, means adoption into sonship, and on the part of the receiver man, his entrance into that state. Man does not adopt, regenerate, or justify himself, whatever share he may have (but still under grace) of qualifying himself for it. God makes the grant, and it is entirely his act; man only receives and is acted upon, though sometimes as in adults, active in preparing himself, and sometimes, as in infants, entirely passive. The grant is a translation from the curse of Adam into the grace of Christ, and brings with it many privileges, all reducible to two, remission of sins (absolute or conditional), and a covenant claim to eternal happiness. These blessings may be forfeited by revolt from God, and then such person is no longer in a regenerate state with respect to any saving effects. Still God's original grant stands in full force to take place, as often as any such revolter shall return, and he will require to be not regenerate but renewed. This St. Peter speaks of in the active sense, saying, *God hath begotten us again to a living hope*[s]*;* and passively, *being born again not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible by the word of God*, describing it as transient; but when the phrase, born of God, is found to denote a permanent state, it is to be understood of a person who has been born of God, and abides entirely in that sonship. Renovation is the renewal of the heart, and this in adults may and should be, before, in, and after baptism. Preventing grace must go before to work in the subject, faith and repentance, the qualifications previous to baptism. Those first influential visits of the Holy Spirit turning the heart, are the preparative renewings, the first and lowest degrees of renovation. Afterwards in Baptism the same Spirit fixes as it were in it his dwelling, and if after this regeneration his motions are more and more complied with, the renewing grows through the whole course of the spi-

[r] Titus ii. 4, 5, 6. [s] 1 Pet. i. 3. 23.

ritual life. Therefore though we find no Scripture exhortations made to Christians (for Nicodemus was a Jew) to become regenerated, yet we meet with several to them to be renewed; as, *Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind*[t]*; the inward man is renewed day by day*[u]. This distinction has been carefully kept up by the Lutheran divines, and is expressed in our Collect for Christmas Day, wherein we beg of God, that being regenerate, and made his children by adoption and grace, we may be daily renewed by his Holy Spirit. Regeneration and renovation also differ as to the effective cause; the first is the work of the Spirit only in the use of water; the second the work of the Spirit and the man together; for though it is God *that worketh in us both to will and to do*[x], still we concur in a subordinate way, that we also both will and do. Another difference is, that the one occurs but once, and the second may be often repeated in adults. In infants, regeneration commences before renovation, which shows how distinct they are; still as regeneration is a renewal of the spiritual state, and renovation a renewal of the heart, it must follow, that so far as the second is necessary to the first, they go together. This must be the case in adults, because there can be no regeneration without a capacity or qualification. We see then the importance of the words in the Article, that baptism is the sign of regeneration in those who rightly receive it. It appears from Peter's address[y], *Repent, and be baptized for the remission of sins in the name of Jesus Christ, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost;* that remission comes through repentance, and only formally, visibly, and ministerillay through Baptism. Paul is declared also a chosen vessel[z], before Ananias calls upon him to be baptized. In the language of Peter Lombard, he was before justified in the judgment of God, and then also in the judgment of the Church. Cornelius's right to baptism is grounded by St. Peter on his previous reception of the thing signified; and Cyril's observation in his Catechetical Lectures is, that Peter directed him to be baptized, in order that

[t] Rom. xii. 2. [u] 2 Cor. iv. 16. [x] Philip. ii. 13. [y] Acts ii. 38. [z] Acts x. 15.

his soul, having been regenerated through faith, his body through baptism might receive grace; and in the context he explains the separability of outward baptism, and the regenerating influence of the Holy Ghost. "The Church," says Jeremy Taylor, "gives the Sacrament, God the grace of the Sacrament; but because he does not always give it at the instant, and yet afterwards does give it, when the impediment is removed, it follows, that the Church may administer rightly even before God gives the grace." And again, "Though by the present custom we are baptized in infancy, and do not actually reap that fruit of present pardon which persons of mature age did in the primitive Church; yet we must remember that there is a baptism of the Spirit, as well as a baptism of water; and whenever that happens, whether it be together, as it actually was when only those of years of discretion were baptized, or whether it were administered in Confirmation, or by an internal and merely spiritual ministry, when by our own election we verify the promise made in baptism, we bring back the rite by receiving the effect[p]." In the earlier ages of Christianity grown persons were the most frequently admitted into the Church. As discipline came to be settled, candidates were trained by proper instructions, and were therefore called Catechumens. Faith and repentance alone, though both of them antecedently gifts of the Spirit, were not supposed *ordinarily* to make them regenerate. The solemn saving stipulation was not supposed to pass in due form, till the candidate's consecration to the blessed Trinity in Baptism. He was not yet *buried with Christ into death, nor planted in the likeness of his resurrection*[q], therefore in strictness not a member of Christ nor a child of God, but still an alien, having no covenant claim to Gospel privileges. "As," says Hooker[r], "we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men, in the eye of the Church of God, but by new birth; nor, according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new born, but by that baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians." The innocence and incapacity of infants are to them instead of repentance which they do not need, and of faith which

[p] Life of Christ, i. 9. [q] Rom. vi. 4. 6. [r] Eccl. Polity, v.

they cannot have. They are capable of being savingly born of water and the Spirit, and of being adopted into sonship, with what depends thereupon; because though they bring no positive righteousness, yet they bring no impediment. They stipulate by their sureties upon a presumptive and interpretative consent; they are solemnly consecrated to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, pardon, mercy, and other covenant privileges are made over to them, and the Holy Spirit translates them out of their state of nature (to which a curse belongs) into a state of grace. This is their regeneration." It may be reasonably presumed, that from this time the renewing of the heart may come on gradually with the first dawning of reason in such measures as they shall yet be capable of, in a way to us imperceptible, till they defile themselves with actual sin. In this case regeneration precedes, and renovation can only follow after, though infants may perhaps be capable of receiving some seeds of internal grace sooner than is commonly imagined, I would add, even in the act of regeneration.

The second part of the Article maintains, but with great moderation, the doctrine of infant baptism, for it is not represented as a positive command; it is only said, that it should be retained as most agreeable with the institution of Christ; and such has ever been the opinion, and consequently the practice, of believers. It is not mentioned in the canons of any council, nor is it inserted in any creed, yet it has been practised by every established Church; and we know that it was never controverted, till the Anabaptists arose at the period of the Reformation, though they did not reach England till long after the Articles were settled. They are called Anabaptists, from repeating the rite on those who had been baptized in infancy; but as they do not acknowledge such baptism to be valid, they call themselves Baptists. Augustine had never heard of any Christian, catholic or sectary, who taught such a doctrine; and even his opponents the Pelagians allowed infant baptism, though it furnished him with a strong argument against them in support of original sin; and it was held by all the ancients, that no children unbaptized can enter the kingdom of heaven. Tertullian was the first to

object to it, from a notion, that the greater sins cannot be remitted after baptism; yet his manner shows that he was opposing the general custom; and even he allows that infants ought to be baptized if in danger of death, which is virtually conceding the principle. As early as the time of Cyprian it was determined, A.D. 254, by an African Synod, that it was not necessary to defer baptism till the eighth day; and we can trace up the custom to Irenæus and Justin Martyr; nor can we imagine, that they who must have known the practice of the Apostles would have deviated from it. As Paul baptized whole households, we may presume that some of them comprised children. Our Saviour encouraged those who brought babes unto him, who were young enough to be taken up in his arms, declaring that *of such was the kingdom of heaven;* and his language has a tendency to mislead, if the Gospel dispensation in this respect was distinguished from the Mosaic. Circumcision too was before the giving of the Law the initiatory rite into the Abrahamic covenant, which is in fact the Christian; and if Baptism takes its place, it is a fair presumption that Jesus in the general words, *make disciples of all nations, baptizing them,* meant to include infants. Certainly the Missionary of a Pædobaptist Church would now put this interpretation on that commission. When Peter[s] having said, *Be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ,* continues, *for the promise is unto you and your children;* the persons addressed being Jews, whose children had been admitted into covenant by circumcision, could hardly fail to conclude, that they as well as themselves were proper objects of Baptism; and the conclusion seems to be unavoidable, if the Church be under both dispensations the same, as is declared to the Ephesians by Paul, *for he is our peace who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between* Jew and Gentile. Infant Baptism is also implied in the observation, *the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, else were your children unclean, but now are they holy*[t], that is, dedicated to God; but in what other way can this be done than by Baptism? This, however,

[s] Acts ii. 38. [t] 1 Cor. vii. 14.

limits it to the offspring of one believing parent, and the arguments drawn from the analogy of circumcision confirm this restriction. Indeed there seems to be no warrant and no reason for baptizing others, till they can understand the nature of the ordinance and stipulate for themselves; though in China and in other heathen states, the Romish Missionaries introduce themselves in disguise into native hospitals, or sprinkle exposed dying infants, and so superstitiously and absurdly swell the number of their nominal converts. Most Pædobaptists hold, that God doth at Baptism by his Spirit apply to the infant therein dedicated to him the promises of the covenant of which he is capable; viz. adoption, pardon of sin, and translation from a state of nature to a state of grace or favour. And on this account the infant is said to be regenerated by the Spirit; not that God does by miracle then illuminate or convert it; and they hold, that God does by his covenant abolish therein the guilt of original sin, and consigns to it by promise such grace as shall afterwards by the use of means be sufficient to keep under, though not to extirpate it, for it is left as a subject of constant Christian warfare.

The New Testament is wholly silent on the baptism of infants, which we can only maintain from its analogy to circumcision under the old dispensation. There are indeed few texts from which the effects of this Sacrament, even when administered to adults, can be ascertained. The Article only stating that infant baptism should be retained, we naturally turn to the Service in the Prayer Book to discover in a devotional form what is omitted both in our Confession of faith, and in the Homilies. As in a country which had been long converted, our ancestors with rare exceptions were like ourselves baptized in infancy, the Service was drawn up with a reference to infants; and though another for adults was added after the Restoration, the difference between the two is less than might have been expected. A sacrament which grafts into the body of Christ's Church the convert who is convinced of sin, and joyfully embraces the doctrine which proclaims to him, through a crucified Redeemer, deliverance from its penalty and power, on the condition of repentance and faith, must be accommodated,

as well as we can, to those who from their tender age are incapable of either, and unconscious of their reception of it. It hath pleased our own Reformers, and their continental brethren, as well as the Church from which they seceded, to require, alike from both, the renunciation of the devil, the world, and the flesh, a declaration of belief, and a promise of obedience. The answer of a good conscience towards God of these questions by the adult, the unconscious babe makes by the mouth of sponsors, upon the understanding, that when of proper age he will take the engagement upon himself. As in the Lord's Supper, so in Baptism, it is the Roman Catholic doctrine, that the grace signified invariably follows the sign, unless opposed by mortal sin, which in infants cannot be imagined. Bearing in mind the remark, that in such only as worthily receive the Sacraments, "they have a wholesome effect," and of the subsequent specification of each, that "such as be void of lively faith eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper;" and that Baptism is the sign of new-birth [only] to them that receive it rightly; and reading in the Service, that after the stipulations made by their sureties, and the supplications of the congregation, the child is declared to be regenerate, it appears to me that the Articles and the Liturgy can only be reconciled on the hypothetical principle[u]. As both proceed from the same authors, any

[u] The secret effects of election and of the Spirit are in Scripture ascribed to all who are of the outward communion. So St. Peter calls all the Christian strangers of the eastern dispensation, *elect;* and St. Paul says of the Thessalonians, that their *faith was spoken of in all the world;* and yet it is not to be supposed that all the professors had an unreprovable faith. These are usually significant of a general custom, and natural expectation of events. Such are those also in this very question, *As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ*, that is, so it is regularly, and so it will be in its due time, and that is the order of things and the designed event. But from hence we cannot conclude of every person, and in every period of time. This man hath been baptized, now he hath put on Christ. Such is St. Paul's saying, *Whom he hath predestinated.* This also declares the regular event, but not the actual verification of it to all persons. He that shall argue from hence, that children are not rightly baptized because they cannot in a spiritual sense put on Christ, concludes nothing, unless these propositions did signify universally, which can no more pretend to truth, than that all Christians are God's elect, and all that are baptized are saints. These things declare only the usual effect and proper design in their proper season, in their limited properties. Life of Christ, i. 9. p. 131.

apparent contrariety must arise from our misconception; and I am confirmed in this opinion by a reference to the works of the Reformers, which, though unauthorized, convey their sentiments, and by the consideration that our form of Baptism is mainly of Protestant origin. The exorcism of the evil spirit which deformed King Edward's first Liturgy, with the white vesture and the anointing, are omitted in the second; and in this and the other occasional Services they were largely indebted to Herman, the venerable Elector of Cologne, who willingly resigned the dignity and power of an ecclesiastical Sovereign, when called upon to choose between them and an open profession of the Gospel. He had previously caused a book to be drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, in conformity with the older Liturgy of Nuremberg, and an English translation of it was published as early as 1547. This principle has not been invented to explain baptismal regeneration, but will be found to pervade the Prayer Book, and proceeds from the definition of a Church common to the Protestant confessions as a congregation, (not as described by Roman Catholics as consisting of all professors of Christianity, good and bad, but) of saints, or faithful men. This principle is a key which unlocks all the services. Thus in the Catechism the baptized child is taught to call himself not only a child of God, but one of his elect people; and in the Burial Service hope is expressed that the departed brother, whose body is committed to the ground, rests in our Lord Jesus Christ; and in the prayer to God to accomplish the number of the elect and to hasten his kingdom, it is implied that every one over whom the Service is read, departed in the Lord. To some this judgment of charity, applied to all the members of a national Church, may seem to be carried too far. They should however consider, that when the Service was published, dissent was not contemplated, and that it is not to be used over persons excommunicated; and the Commination shows, that our Reformers had the wish (and probably entertained the hope) of restoring the godly discipline of the primitive church, when such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance.

In conclusion, I will speak briefly of the mode of admin-

istering this Sacrament. The giving a name at the time, called in consequence a Christian name, is in imitation of the Jewish custom, and is clearly no essential part of the service. The form consists in the candidate's renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and his engagement to be God's soldier and servant. As St. Peter says, *Baptism saves us*, but not the mere act, not the *putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God*[x]. The matter is allowed by the Romanist to be pure water, yet by traditionary rules they use holy chrism and salt, and extinguish in the water a wax light, in allusion to the description of our Lord's Baptism with fire. They sign eight parts of the body with the sign of the Cross. Baptism was originally administered in ordinary cases by immersion in a spring, a river, a pond, or the sea, it is indifferent in which, says Tertullian; but after the erection of churches, in detached buildings near them called baptisteries, of which there are several in Italy; or in fonts, where they were not disposed to go to this expense, which, as we see in our parish churches, were capacious enough for the immersion of infants. The baptized were plunged at the naming of each divine Person; but this trine immersion, which is mentioned by Jerome, Basil, and Chrysostom, was discontinued by order of a Council of Toledo, and regarded by Gregory as unimportant. After Baptism, a mixture of milk and honey used to be given, and a white garment put on; and as Baptism, except under particular circumstances, was chiefly administered on the festival which commemorates the miraculous descent of the Holy Spirit, it was in consequence called White-Sunday. Cyprian allows after some reasoning the validity of the clinic baptism of the sick, which shows that immersion was then general. Sprinkling, however, was probably used occasionally, even by the Apostles, where we cannot imagine that sufficient water could be found for the original mode, as when three thousand persons were baptized at once in Jerusalem, and the jailor and his family in the night by Paul and Silas. Gennadius of Marseilles, in the fifth century, is the first who speaks of sprinkling as common. In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas mentions the three modes, immersion, affusion, and sprin-

[x] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

kling, and prefers immersion as the safer, because more usual. Erasmus tells us, that infants were sprinkled in Holland and dipped in England. When affusion was first substituted for immersion, they poured the water upon the face three times. In King Edward's first Book of Common Prayer, the minister is directed to dip the child thrice; but this direcction is omitted in the second. Calvin's is the first form which prescribes sprinkling; and the practice seems to have been introduced into England by those who had taken refuge on the continent from Mary's persecution. Immersion had been left off in most of the western churches much earlier than in our own, but still prevails in the east. No direction being given in Scripture, the thing signified, and the declaration made, not the quantity or mode of applying water, being the important point, especially in a religion, like Christianity, not ceremonial but spiritual, the several methods are equally valid. The Baptists have revived the ancient form; and we concede, that the metaphor drawn from immersion better represents the death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness, which are figured by this Sacrament. Still the modern method significantly represents that *sprinkling of the blood of Jesus*[y], to which we owe our salvation, and the use of it seems to be not only foretold by Isaiah, who says of Him[z], *that he shall sprinkle many nations*[a]; but to be had in view also by the Apostle, where he speaks *of our having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water*[b]. The baptism of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost *was poured out;* and it has been contended that the word βαπτίζω and its derivatives means cleansing, the effect and not the mode of washing, and may therefore be rendered either dipping or sprinkling. St. Paul may be said to employ both metaphors[c], in speaking of Israelites being *baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea.* The persons to administer the Sacrament are the Clergy, for it was to his Apostles that Christ gave the commission, which they handed down to those they ordained; and to admit into the Church seems to be their peculiar province. This is denied by none; but as infants may sometimes die before a minister

[y] 1 Pet. i. 2. [z] Is. lii. 15. [a] Ezek. xxxvi. 25. [b] Heb. x. 22. [c] 1 Cor. x. 2.

can be found, it seems cruel to suffer them to leave the world without having been admitted into the Church. The higher the value set upon this Sacrament, the more readiness there will be to facilitate its administration. Rome, which regards it as indispensable, authorizes lay baptism, and even tolerates its administration by an avowed unbeliever. The Church of Scotland, on the other hand, speaks with horror of baptism by women, and assigns it to a lawfully appointed minister. Our own Church continued for a time the ancient practice, but in A.D. 1575 it was unanimously agreed in Convocation that baptism should not be administered by the laity. At the Hampton Court conference, the rubric was altered, and "lawful minister" inserted. And after the Restoration, it was worded with still greater restriction. In A.D. 1712, the dispute about the validity of lay-baptism running pretty high, the Archbishops with all the Bishops of their provinces that were in town, came unanimously to the resolution, that though baptism by any other persons except lawful ministers ought as much as may be to be discouraged, nevertheless, such baptisms wherein the essentials were observed were valid, and ought not be repeated[d].

Several years since this Lecture was drawn up, the connection between Baptism and Regeneration has been not only again discussed, but has been brought formally under the consideration of a Committee of Privy Council, the judgment of which leaves it an open question. A work of this description could not do justice to the subject; instead therefore of attempting to revive the controversy, I would recommend the student to examine for himself the best works that have been written on both sides; observing in conclusion, that I consider with Archbishop Usher, the announcement of the regeneration of the baptized infant as the judgment not of certainty but of charity; and that it surprises me, that while all agree that in the Lord's Supper grace is not inseparably connected with the act of feeding, so many believe that every baptized infant is born again, while the definition common to both Sacraments expressly limits their wholesome effect to the worthy reception of them.

[d] Life of Archbishop Sharp, and Sharp on the Rubric.

LECTURE XVIII.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

The other Sacrament, which our Church retains *as such*, is the Lord's Supper; and, like Baptism, it is so plainly declared in Scripture to be of divine institution, that the fact has never been denied. The Friends alone maintain

that they were designed solely for the existing generation. To this it is a sufficient reply, that the command is given in both instances without restriction or limitation, and whatever arguments recommend the *temporary* are no less forcible for the *perpetual* observance of them. The descendants of Adam in every age are equally the children of wrath, and the inheritors of a corrupt nature, and as such equally require to be born again of water and of the Spirit, and the followers of Christ are in every age equally bound by their unspeakable obligations to a devout and thankful commemoration of his death. This reasoning is unanswerably confirmed by the universal practice of the Church, till the appearance of the Friends, so late as the 17th century, who moreover have prevailed upon no sect to follow their solitary example. St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians shows, that the celebration of the Lord's Supper was kept up by them. He informs us, that it had been the subject of a special revelation to himself, which is proof that it was designed not for the Apostles alone, but for all believers; and his own words, *ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come*, determine that it is to be retained till his second advent. We can only wish that all other disputes respecting this Sacrament could be as easily settled; but unhappily, as is well known, this feast of grateful commemoration, calculated and designed to be a bond of brotherly affection, in which, as implied in its ordinary appellation, we ought to hold communion with one another as well as with our common Lord, has become a mark of distinction. Its nature, the benefits derived from it, and the manner of celebration, have all been fiercely and bitterly contested, not only between Roman Catholics and Protestants, but by Protestants among themselves. The doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, or, as it is called by a convenient name invented for the purpose, Transubstantiation, is not merely an absurdity contradictory to our senses and our reason, but brings with it several strange and revolting conclusions. The mysterious dignity thus conferred on this Sacrament has produced an injurious

reaction, so that some Protestants, in their anxiety to avoid this error, have fallen into an opposite one, and have deprived the Lord's Supper altogether of its sacramental character, and degraded it to a mere commemoration. Our own Church here as generally takes a middle course, in which truth is usually to be found, and receives it not as a rite, but as a sacrament, that is, as the means of grace.

We will now review the principal systems which prevail concerning this ordinance.

If Scripture had represented the Lord's Supper as no more than a remembrance of the death of Christ, it could hardly have given occasion for so many conflicting opinions. But there are expressions both in the words of the Institution, and in other passages, which seem to open a further view. Thus *new testament*, or rather new covenant, as it ought to have been rendered, *in my blood*, implies some important connection respecting the nature and extent of which men may differ. New covenant of course recalls a former one: and the occasion when it was instituted after the paschal supper, reminds us that the supper was a lamb eaten in commemoration of God's mercy, in commanding the destroying angel who slew the first-born of the Egyptians to pass over the houses of the Israelites, which had been sprinkled with the blood of that animal. This annual festival carries back our thoughts to that great national deliverance, which we are thus led to consider as typical. By us as well as by *all the generations of Israel, it is a night to be observed to the Lord.* The words, *this is my body*, will convey to different minds different ideas; and St. Paul's remark on the danger of eating and drinking unworthily, and of not discerning the Lord's body, seems to intimate much more than *mere* commemoration. In the same Epistle to the Corinthians he calls the cup the *communion of the blood of Christ;* and our Lord's discourse at Capernaum recorded by St. John, on eating his flesh and drinking his blood, may be affirmed to refer, at the least indirectly, to this Sacrament.

The Romanists take the words literally, and believe that when Jesus spake them, he changed the bread upon the table

into his body, and the wine into his blood, and actually delivered them into the hands of his disciples. They believe moreover, that whenever the Lord's Supper is administered, the priest by pronouncing these words with a good intention, converts the bread into his flesh. This change is called Transubstantiation, the propriety of which name is conceived to consist in this, that while the bread and wine are not changed in figure, taste, weight, or any other *accident*, the *substance* of them is annihilated, and that the body and blood of Christ, although clothed with all the sensible properties of bread and wine, are truly present; so that those who receive what is consecrated, do not receive bread and wine, but the flesh of Christ. It is further conceived, that the elements thus transubstantiated are presented by the priest to God; and he receives the name of priest, (that is, not as an elder but as a sacrificer,) because in laying them upon the altar, he offers to God a sacrifice, which, though it be distinguished from all others, by being without the shedding of blood, is a true propitiatory offering for the sins of the dead as well as of the living; the body and blood of Christ which were presented on the cross being again offered in the sacrifice of the mass. It is also conceived, that this sacrifice possesses an intrinsic virtue, independent of the disposition of the receiver, and operates immediately upon all who do not obstruct the operation by a mortal sin. Hence it is most important for the salvation of the sick and dying, that this host, (that is, victim,) should be brought to them; and it is understood, that such partaking in private, is as salutary as joining with others in the Lord's Supper. It is further conceived, that it is a duty both to worship the bread so changed upon the altar, and to bear it in solemn procession, to receive the homage of all who meet it. What therefore had been transubstantiated was lifted up for adoration, and as it is the original sacrifice repeated, the act is called the Elevation of the host. The wine being exposed to accidents, the sick who believed in this change, became reconciled to the custom of only receiving the bread; and in order to remove their scruples about this half communion, they were taught, that as the

bread was changed into Christ's body, they partook, by concomitancy, as it was termed, of the blood. In process of time the laity even in church were denied the wine; and it was said, that when Jesus spake these words, *Drink ye all of it*, he was addressing himself only to the Apostles, whom he thereby instituted priests, so that his command is fulfilled when the priests, the successors of the Apostles, drank of the cup, though the people are excluded. Thus the last part of the system conspired with the first in exalting the clergy very far above the laity, for the former, who assumed the power of changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and presented what they had thus transubstantiated as a sacrifice for sin, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of partaking of the whole Sacrament. Although the Lord's Supper had early been regarded with a reverence which would easily degenerate into superstition; and in all ages there had been a notion founded upon our Lord's words, that communicants partake of his body and blood; it was not till after long and much opposition that the system, the result of increasing ignorance and superstition, was finally completed. Several of the Fathers have spoken so strongly of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, that it is easy for an ingenious partisan to select passages from their works that shall seem to favour this doctrine; though others positively reject it as a preposterous conclusion. The nature of these Lectures prevents my entering upon the proof of this, which has been ably accomplished by many of our controversialists, for it could only be shown by a series of passages from a multitude of voluminous authors. I will merely refer to a decisive passage in Augustine, which must be taken as qualifying and explaining away any high-flown tropes and metaphors, which he may have used in his devotional works. "If a passage be a precept either forbidding a crime, or enjoining an useful or charitable act, it is not figurative; but it is figurative if it seems to command a crime, or to forbid an useful or charitable act. When our Lord says, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man*

and drink his blood, ye have no life in you, he appears to enjoin a crime. It *is therefore a figure*, teaching that we participate in the passion of the Lord, and we must sweetly and passionately treasure up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us[a]." Transubstantiation appears to have been unknown[b] during the Eutychian and Nestorian controversies, or to Gelasius Bishop of Rome in A. D. 490. Its invention is ascribed to Radbertus Paschasius, a French monk, when it was resisted by Scotus Erigena, the great luminary of Ireland, which is a strong presumption, that it was not held by the ancient British Church; and it is also contradicted by a Saxon homily of the tenth century. In the eleventh, Berengarius argued against it; and Lanfranc, who was brought by William the conqueror from a Norman Abbey to be Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced it into England. Even after the invention of the name in the thirteenth century, and the declaration of the fourth Lateran Council, that the doctrine was an article of faith, the impression made by Berengarius was not effaced, and some who did not venture to profess a disbelief of an article imposed upon them by the supreme authority of the Church, tried to avoid its palpable absurdity of it, by a modification of it, called Consubstantiation.

This was adopted by Luther, and is used to express the distinguishing character of the second system. That Reformer could never free himself from his original belief, that the words of the Institution implied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ; yet he saw the absurdity of maintaining, in contradiction to our senses, that what appears to be as much bread and wine after consecration as before, is literally changed into another substance; and therefore he taught, that the bread and wine remain, but that together with them is present the body and blood of Christ, which is truly received by all communicants. As in a red hot iron, he said, two distinct substances, iron and fire, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread. Some of his followers, wishing to give a more accurate statement, had

[a] Lib. iii. de doctrina Christ. [b] Pearson on the Creed, p. 162.

recourse to the mysterious and incredible doctrine of the communication of properties. They said, that all those properties of the Divine Nature, the exercise of which is essential to the office of Mediator, were communicated to the human; and that as he can only act where he is, and as the human nature enters into the conception of his office, there is communicated to that nature a majestic omnipresence, by which the body of Christ, although a true body, may be in all places at the same time. This doctrine seems to me as incredible as Transubstantiation itself. Our own Reformers, though adopting many of Luther's opinions, dissent from this, for King Edward's twenty-ninth Article, from which the present one is altered, thus concludes, "Since the very being of human nature doth require, that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and at the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since, as the holy Scriptures testify, Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world, it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist; and a declaration to the same effect is appended to our Communion Service. This ubiquity was not held by Luther himself, but was invented by some of his followers, as a philosophical explanation of his tenet. The modern Lutherans reject the term Consubstantiation, and also that of Impanation, or being connected with the bread, but still profess to hold the doctrine of their founder. They now probably only acquiesce in it, because maintained in their symbolical books; and it never led to the same practical consequences as Transubstantiation, such as imparting to the receiver a physical virtue, by which the benefit derived is independent of his disposition, or as giving it the nature of a sacrifice, or as rendering the bread and wine an object of adoration to Christians. And their doctrine, being thus separated from

the three great practical errors of the Church of Rome, meets with indulgence even from those who account it false and ridiculous.

Carlestadt, a professor, together with Luther, in the University of Wittemberg and Zwingli, taught, that when Jesus said, *This is my body, this is my blood*, he used a figure exactly of the same kind with that by which, according to the abbreviations practised in ordinary speech, the sign is often put for the thing signified. As this figure is in itself common, above all in the Hebrew and cognate languages, in which there is no verb equivalent to "means," "represents," "signifies," so there were also two circumstances which would prevent the Apostles from misunderstanding him; the one was, that they saw and heard him speaking, and could not suppose that when he delivered to them the bread, they were eating his body. The other was, that they had just been partaking of a Jewish festival, in the institution and celebration of which the same figure was used. For in the night in which the children of Israel escaped out of Egypt, God said of the lamb which each house was to slay and eat, *it is the Lord's passover*, not meaning that it was the action of the Lord's passing over every house, but the token and pledge of that action. And it must be admitted by all, even the Roman Catholics, that a figure is used in the latter part of the Sacrament, *this cup is the new covenant*, and if this be allowed as to the wine, why not as to the bread? We thus avoid both the absurdities of the literal interpretation, and that of the Lutherans, who must interpret this is my body, not this represents my body, but this accompanies my body. This method of interpretation leaves no opening for the adoration offered by the Church of Rome to the elements, for they are only the signs of the things believed to be absent. Nor is there any ground for accounting the Lord's Supper to the dishonour of the High Priest of our profession, a new sacrifice presented by an earthly priest, for the bread and wine are only the memorials of that sacrifice which was formerly offered on the cross; and this interpretation destroys the papal idea of a physical virtue in the Lord's Supper; for if the

bread and wine are signs of what is absent, their use must be to excite the remembrance of it, but this can only exist with regard to those whose minds are thereby brought into a proper frame. This interpretation has been adopted by the Socinians, as a full account of the Lord's Supper, and has been supported and illustrated by Bishop Hoadley. According to this statement, it is no more than a religious commemoration of the death of Christ, which it is the duty of every believer in him to celebrate, and the performance of it is not attended with any other benefits, than those we ourselves take care to make it produce.

But there is a fourth system which originated with Calvin, and has been adopted by the Churches of England and Scotland. He thought that the third system, that of Zwingli, did not come up to the full meaning of Scripture; and it appeared to him that there was a sense in which the significancy of its language might be preserved, and a part of the Lutheran language be properly continued in use. Agreeing with Zwingli in thinking that the bread and wine were the signs of what was not locally present, he renounced both Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation. He agreed farther with him, that the use of these signs was intended to produce a moral effect; but he taught moreover, that to all who remember the death of Christ in a proper manner by the signs, He is spiritually present; and he considered this spiritual presence as giving a significancy, far beyond the Socinian sense, to these words, *the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?* The blessing pronounced upon the cup makes no change; but to all who join with suitable devotion in the thanksgiving then offered, Christ is spiritually present, so that they may emphatically be said to partake of his body and blood, because his body and blood being spiritually present, convey the same nourishment to their souls, as actual bread and wine do to their natural life. Hence Calvin was led to connect the discourse at Capernaum with the Lord's Supper, not in the literal sense of Papists and Lutherans, but in one agreeable to our Lord's own explanation; *The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.*

According to this system, the full benefit of the Lord's Supper is confined to those who partake worthily; and it becomes the duty of every Christian to examine himself before he eats of that bread and drinks of that cup, not only with regard to his understanding the Sacrament, but also with regard to his works, words, and thoughts. The passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians suggests the idea of a feast upon a sacrifice as the true explanation, and the institution itself is made in sacrificial language. If we make the Lord's Supper as instituted by him a mere commemoration, we make it a strange and unintelligible rite; for what can be more strange than eating the flesh and drinking the blood, either really or metaphorically, of one who is an instructor and benefactor, and no more; and he himself, while he expects it to be done *in remembrance* of him, calls it *a covenant in his blood.* But when Sacrifice formed the principal part of religion, all who partook of the material feast, were understood to partake of the spiritual benefits of the sacrifice. *Are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar*[c]*?* the worshipper as well as the priest partook of the altar, except in the case of whole burnt offerings, which were entirely consumed. Christ was our victim; on his body we do not feast literally, because it is in heaven; but he appointed bread to represent it; on that we can feast, and so partake of his body, and such bread is the bread of life, because by his own appointment it represents his flesh. This idea which was illustrated by Cudworth, was adopted by Warburton as an effectual answer to both the Popish and Socinian schemes.

This view of the principal systems of the Lord's Supper, will prepare us for the better understanding of the wording of the Article.

The Lord's Supper "is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another," but rather, verum potius, something more, that is, "a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death." In the following Article, those "who take the Lord's Supper, are said to eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing," (as the body and

[c] 1 Cor. x. 18.

blood of Christ,) which shows that sacrament and sign were considered synonymous terms, A sacrament of our redemption; but the death of Christ is efficacious only as a sacrifice; the Lord's Supper, therefore, is a feast upon a sacrifice. The external part of the ordinance being visible, and peculiar to Christians, must be a badge, and whatever is a badge of Christians, must be a sign of mutual affection. It represents our redemption by the death of Christ, and therefore has an internal part or spiritual grace, so that *the bread which we break* is a *partaking of the body of Christ;* and likewise *the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.* This proposition is here purposely expressed in the language of St. Paul to the Corinthians[d]. Some Protestants think, that our Church approximates too nearly to the language of Rome; and modern Romanists endeavour to catch unwary and imperfectly informed members of our communion, by attempting to show that the difference between us is only verbal. A little attention however will show the fallacy. The term, real presence, is used by some of our divines, as by Archbishop Secker; and even Latimer, at his disputation here in Oxford, previous to his martyrdom, said, that he maintained the *real* presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but not the *corporal.* Our Church however has wisely forborne to use the term in any of the books set forth by authority; for it is not easy to conceive as really *present* what is *locally absent,* though we may conceive it to be really received, in the manner that a man receives an estate, though he may be at a distance from it when he receives the deeds that convey it. In the Sacrament our Church says, "the body and blood are verily and indeed taken," but not by all, only "by the faithful;" and here too the partaking is restricted to such as "rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same." Further on it is expressly said, that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." That such a real presence, which must be spiritual, is different from the Roman, is manifest, from the strong

[d] 1 Cor. x. 16.

condemnation of Transubstantiation, of which it is said, not only that it "cannot be proved by holy writ, but that it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture." It is not my intention to enter into this controversy, because as this is the most prominent among the tenets that separate us from the communion of Rome, it will be familiar to most of you, and a long and satisfactory confutation of it may be read in Burnet's Exposition.

How, it may naturally be asked, could a doctrine, so incredible to the understanding and so revolting to the feelings, ever have prevailed, if it had not been revealed? Has not Christ positively declared the bread to be his body, and the wine his blood? has not his Apostle warned us of the danger of not discerning his body? and is there not a long discourse of our Lord prophetical of this institution, which his hearers understood, and which he meant them to understand, literally, since many of his disciples replied, *this is a hard saying, who can bear it?* It is conceded, that a hasty reader might form this conclusion; yet the first impression will yield to examination; and it is a presumption against this interpretation, that it is not approved by many Roman Catholic divines. In fact, it would prove too much for them, since it would supply a powerful argument for infant communion, which their Church has long laid aside, and it would be diametrically opposite to their practice of denying the cup to the laity. Waterland, in his Treatise on the Eucharist, shows at length, that the eating is not sacramental but spiritual; that is, spiritual feeding, not as confined to the Eucharist, but in that, or the other Sacrament, or in any way by which we show our faith in the atoning efficacy of Christ's death. He takes the universality of the proposition, which, according to St. John's manner, is stated both affirmatively and negatively, as his guide, and he sums up the whole in this proposition, that all who feed upon what is here mentioned, and they alone, have life. The Roman Catholic will not maintain that it is the Eucharist, for upon this hypothesis, what will become of baptized infants who die before they come to years of discretion, or others who though believers may never have

had the opportunity of communicating. It would also promise eternal life to all partakers, though St. Paul says, that in this Sacrament *we may eat and drink our own damnation.* Waterland takes the meaning to be, that it is only through the expiation effected through our Lord's sacrifice of himself, that any one can be accepted. For example, *Except ye eat the flesh of Christ,* does not mean, you have no life without the Eucharist, but that you have no life without participating of our Lord's passion. Nevertheless, since the Eucharist is one mode of participating, it was proper to urge the doctrine of this discourse both for clearer understanding the beneficial nature of this Sacrament, and for encouraging believers to frequent and devout communion. Such was the use made of it by some of the early Fathers and by our own divines. The result of his investigation is, that though this discourse was early applied to the Eucharist, it was not *interpreted* of it before the fifth century. Even if interpreted exclusively of the Eucharist, it will rather prove that the body and blood are turned into bread and wine, than the converse; for our Lord says, *I am the bread of life, the living bread, that came down from Heaven.* But he himself gives a key to unlock his hidden meaning, and explains his language as metaphorical. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you they are Spirit and they are life.* As if he had said, it is not my natural flesh, though you should eat it, that would procure you everlasting life, but the Holy Spirit who must quicken you. Archbishop Sharp in an able Sermon on this discourse says, that to eat Christ's flesh and to drink his blood, means no more than to believe in him, for to both these is the same promise made in the same words. Thus we read, *This is the will of him that sent me, that every one who seeth the Son and believeth on him may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day;* and, *Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.* Our Lord was naturally led to use this allegorical language, because he had miraculously fed his hearers in the desert, and they now urge him in

imitation of Moses to grant them, as the sign of his divine mission, bread from heaven.

The simple fact, that our Lord instituted this Sacrament in person is a proof that there could be no transubstantiation in its first celebration. And if there were not then, surely at no future period, nor indeed was it possible on any subsequent commemoration of his death. The same mode of expression which our Lord employed in instituting the memorial of his new covenant, this *is*, not this *represents*, my body, had been already used, without being understood in a gross literal sense by Moses, and is still repeated by the Jews in partaking of the feast which typified this; *This is the Lord's Passover.* None supposed that the lamb was the Lord passing over, or that the passing over was not a remote event; nor could the Apostles, when they heard their Master say, this is my body *given or broken* for you, and *this cup is the new covenant in my blood* which *is shed for you*, believe that he meant it literally before that event had taken place; and surely, if they had so misunderstood our Lord, some expression of surprise would have escaped them; and if he really meant to teach the doctrine of Transubstantiation, he would not have suffered them to rest in our notion of mere commemoration. The Roman Catholic entrenches himself in the literal interpretation of Scripture, and therefore calls upon us to bow to that supreme authority. In this his presumed stronghold, however, we venture to attack him, and maintain, not only that he cannot so prove this tenet, but that it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture. We must remember, that in addition to the narratives of the institution in the three Gospels, we have another inspired account specially revealed to Paul, which he communicated to the Corinthians. And in this, of equal authority, he three times, after consecration, calls what is eaten, bread. Surely therefore the more obscure and mysterious expression ought to be interpreted by the plainer one, so that if the former account required a comment, we have here an infallible one. His remarkable addition, which enables us

to maintain against the Friends, that the Lord's Supper was meant to be a permanent rite; *For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come,* was urged on his trial by Bishop Ridley, as evidence, that Christ did not come in the Sacrament; and his corporal presence therein is also excluded by the declaration, that the heavens must receive him until the times of the restitution of all things. Their reasoning, such as it is, embraces but one of the elements, for He calls *the wine after* consecration[e], *the fruit* (rather product) *of the vine;* and the *cup*, not the *wine*, his blood; but we deny that his words, fairly cited, prove the bread to be his body as it actually exists. I say fairly, for when they have said, *This is my body*, they leave off in triumph. That triumph, however, can only be supported by half a citation. The whole sentence is, *This is my body broken* or *given for you;* it is not therefore his body *absolutely*, but his body in a *particular state*, as broken, and as broken also for us, that is, as offered up to God in sacrifice for us, deprived of life for our sakes, and this took effect *once for all* on the cross. In the same manner He says of the cup, that it is *the blood of the new covenant*, also not absolutely, but as *shed for the remission of sins.* We say then, that at that time, the literal sense was impossible, because Christ could not give away with his own hands, while he was alive, his body to his Apostles, much less broken before he was crucified, and his blood separated from his body. It is justly said in the rubric to the Communion Service, that "the natural body and blood of our Saviour are in Heaven and not here, and therefore our eating is only after a spiritual and heavenly manner." It is the broken body and the blood shed upon which we are to feed; and as the Apostles could not do that literally till they were broken and shed, that is, till his death, so cannot we, nor could ever any after his resurrection, for it was only in that short interval that it was practicable. The body broken and the blood shed have now no existence, we cannot therefore receive more than the benefits purchased

[e] Matt. xxvi. 29.

by them. The body which now exists is the glorified body. His body broken and his blood poured out can no otherwise be present in the Eucharist than by a representation, and no otherwise received than by a grateful recollection, and a faithful application of his merits; His presence therefore can be no more than sacramental, and our eating must be spiritual; as says St. Augustin, not that which is seen, but that which is believed, feeds us.

Transubstantiation is also declared to overthrow the nature of a sacrament, which contains, according to the ancient definition, a sign, and the thing signified. In baptism, this has not been disputed; and in the Lord's Supper we have for the outward part or sign bread and wine, for the thing signified the body and blood of Christ. It is obvious, that on the Roman Catholic hypothesis, we have only the second. According to our Church catechism, our souls are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ to their strengthening and refreshment, as bread and wine benefit the body. The body and blood of Christ, therefore, in the sense of our Church, are only the benefits of Christ's passion, that is to say, the pardon of sin, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, and a closer union with Christ, and our eating and drinking of that body and blood is our being made partakers of those benefits, and the mouth whereby we thus eat and drink is our true and lively faith. This, according to Archbishop Sharp, is plainly the sense of our Church. It is certain that it cannot be the real body, because she expressly affirms that to be now in heaven and not here; and she declares further, that the body which we eat, is for the nourishment not of our bodies but of our souls; and that faith is such a mouth as was never heard of for the eating a body properly so called. I conclude then in Augustine's words, "How shall I send up my hands to heaven to take hold of Christ sitting there? Send thy faith, and thou hast hold of him. Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten. For this is to eat the living bread. He that believeth in Christ eateth Christ; he is invisibly fed, because he is invisibly regenerated."

That such a doctrine should have given rise to many superstitions is not surprising, indeed it could not be otherwise; for the honours due to the host on their hypothesis is only reasonable, but will be allowed to be idolatrous by all who consider the elements as never more than bread and wine. The wafer is consequently reserved, it is conveyed to the sick with a view to performing cures; it is sometimes carried through the street, in order to deprecate some national calamity, in solemn processions, during which every one present is to kneel; and after consecration, it is elevated that all may see and adore his God. This doctrine has also occasioned the multiplying of altars in churches, and has, in the estimation of those that hold it, conferred an efficacy upon the Sacrament, in benefiting the living and the deceased in purgatory, even when it is taken by the priest alone; and it has given an undue exaltation to the sacerdotal character, to the injury of both laity and clergy.

The Article affirms, that the Sacrament by Christ's ordinance was not reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. Certainly, no texts can be brought forward in support of these customs, and they will stand or fall with our belief or rejection of Transubstantiation. The Institution is, *Take, eat and drink*, which imports that participation of the elements is an essential part of the Institution. This custom of reserving began early, when there were few priests to administer, or they could not meet their congregations in seasons of persecution. Portions therefore used to be taken to the absent, to prisoners, and especially to the sick. We however, such circumstances having ceased, choose to consecrate no more than the number of communicants requires, and according to ancient custom the whole is consumed, that no occasion may be given either to superstition or irreverence. As for the sick who cannot join the congregation, we think it more in the spirit of the Institution, to consecrate for their use as much as will be needed, in their presence. Of the elevation, we find no traces in primitive times but the words which we retain from the ancient liturgies, *Lift up your heart*, which they transfer to the wafer. Elevation is first mentioned in the eleventh

century, when it was done to represent the Resurrection of Christ; and Durandus in the thirteenth is the first that speaks of adoring the host.

ARTICLE XXIX.

OF THE WICKED WHICH EAT NOT THE BODY OF CHRIST IN THE USE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

This Article was not in the original edition, nor is it required, since it is substantially contained both in the last, and in the twenty-fifth; for if in such only as worthily receive the Sacraments they have an wholesome effect, and they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith; it will follow as a necessary consequence, that the wicked and such as are void of a lively faith are in no wise partakers of Christ in the Lord's Supper; and this, to give it the more weight, is expressed in the words of St. Augustine, taken from his twenty-sixth Tract on St. John. "He that does not abide in Christ, and in whom Christ doth not abide, certainly doth not spiritually eat his flesh or drink his blood, though he may visibly and carnally press with his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, but he rather eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a matter to his condemnation." Similar passages might be produced from other Fathers, from which we prove, that they did not believe in the corporal presence. How different from the doctrine of Rome, as thus stated by the Annotator on the Rhemish Testament! "Ill men receive the body and blood of Christ, be they infidels or ill-

livers." We ought however in fairness to add, that we urge too strongly against Roman Catholics their doctrine of the mechanical virtue of the Sacrament; for though they speak much of the opus operatum, and maintain, that all communicants receive the body, which according to Transubstantiation they must do, still they profess, that while the wicked eat Christ's body, it is to their condemnation. The Trent catechism quotes this very passage of Augustine; and Dupin says, that the body and blood of Christ are truly and really received by all, yet none but the faithful derive any benefit from them.

ARTICLE XXX.

OF BOTH KINDS.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people; for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

There is no practice of the Roman Church so difficult to defend, as the denial of the Cup to all but the officiating priest. Its members confess it to be an innovation, for they cannot plead the sanction of antiquity; and the wording of this Article affords a sufficient confutation of it.

The custom naturally arose out of Transubstantiation. To prevent any profanation of what was assumed to be our Lord's real body, wafers were substituted for bread, and were put at once into the mouth of the communicants by the officiating minister, instead of being delivered into the hand, as in Protestant congregations; but no expedient could be devised against the occasional spilling of the wine. As the doctrine grew popular, the wine was sucked up through a tube, which custom afterwards fell into disuse, and is now peculiar to the Pope. The first attempt to withhold it, which was made in the twelfth century, appears to have been

acquiesced in universally, but was first authorized by the Council of Constance. It was acknowledged, that Christ did institute this Sacrament in both kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive Church did so receive it; yet a practice being reasonably introduced to avoid some dangers and scandals, they confirm the custom of consecrating in both kinds, and of giving to the laity only in one. At Trent it was openly contended, that the Church had power to make the alteration. It is remarkable, that a Pope of the fifth century, Gelasius, having heard that the Manichæans, regarding it as a sin to taste wine, did not partake of the cup, decreed that all persons should communicate entirely, or not at all, for that such a dividing of one and the same Sacrament could not take place without heinous sacrilege. In a Convocation in the first year of Edward VIth's reign, it was unanimously voted, that the Sacrament should be received in both kinds by the laity as well as by the clergy, though no article on the subject was drawn up before the revision in 1562. In the Greek Church, the laity communicate in both kinds, receiving the bread and wine together in a spoon from the hand of the Priest. In the Council of Trent two questions were agitated; the first, whether the Church's weighty and just causes were so strong, that the use of the cup was to be allowed to no lay person whatsoever; and the second, that supposing it might be allowed to some particular nation, whether it should not be upon conditions? They were ultimately left for Papal decision. It has become instead of a question of doctrine, one of discipline. Cyprian severely censures the Aquarii, who substituted water for wine, saying, If it be not lawful to loose any one of the least commandments of Christ, how much more is it unlawful to break so great an one, which so very nearly relates to the Sacrament of our Lord's passion, and of our redemption; or to change it into what is quite different from the original institution. Roman divines, who cannot deny that the Apostles partook of both elements, assert, to get rid of the difficulty, that they ate the bread as laymen, but were made priests by receiving the cup. This, however, is contradicted by the reason assigned

by our Lord; *Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new covenant, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins;* showing that they were to drink it not on account of their office, but of their state as sinners; and the same reason applies in every age to all believers who are sinners. It may be added, that they were not made priests till after his resurrection, when he breathed upon them, and said, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* St. Paul shows that it is to be received in both kinds; *the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* He also uses drinking for the whole; *we have all been made to drink into one spirit;* and if the discourse in the synagogue of Capernaum is to be applied to the Sacrament, as much is said of the necessity of drinking Christ's blood as of eating his flesh. They vindicate the practice by the incredible position, that Christ is received whole and entire in the bread, so that they to whom one kind alone is administered, are thereby defrauded of no saving grace. Whoever denies this, is pronounced accursed by the Council of Trent. This is only a modification of Transubstantiation, which we have already disproved, and is liable to this additional objection, that it calls in question the wisdom of the Saviour, in enjoining the Supper to be taken in both kinds; and also proves too much, since upon this supposition, the Priest also need never consecrate nor communicate in the two.

ARTICLE XXXI.

OF THE ONE OBLATION OF CHRIST FINISHED UPON THE CROSS.

The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

Roman Catholics affirm, that the Lord's Supper is not only a sacrament, but a *sacrifice*. This aweful error, arising out of Transubstantiation, is denied in the present Article. The oblation of Christ it declares to have been finished upon the cross, therefore not upon the altar; or rather, that the cross is the only Christian altar, for on that alone was the victim offered. If this fundamental truth be established, the sacrifice of the mass can be no longer maintained. If this offering *once* made is a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, it follows, that there is none other, for it would be irrational to seek for more than a perfect redemption. The proposition is announced in his Epistle by St. John; *He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world*[f]. That such a sacrifice would be offered but once, we might reasonably expect; but as if it were to make a prophetical protest against this pernicious notion of its continual repetition, the fact is prominently brought forward in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus, *we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all*[g]. *Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people; for this he did*

[f] 1 John ii. 2. [g] Heb. x. 10.

once, when he offered up himself[h]. *Christ entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption*[i]. *Christ was offered up once, to bear the sins of many*[k]; *every priest stands daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sin; but this man, after he had offered up one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God*[l]. *And now once at the end of the world he hath appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself*[m]. St. Peter also writes to the same effect: *Christ also hath once suffered for sin, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us unto God*[n]. Well then may we adopt the conclusion, that *there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin*[o]; and those who agree to this, which, as it is a plain scriptural declaration, it does not seem easy for a believer to reject, must adopt the conclusion of the Article. "Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, or dangerous deceits." We have seen that the Lord's Supper may be properly called a feast upon a sacrifice, and no Protestant carries his notion of it higher than a symbolical commemorative sacrifice. The Council of Trent lays down, that though Christ was a Priest for ever, he did not mean that earthly priesthood should cease; and therefore offered up to his heavenly Father his body and blood, under the symbols of bread and wine, and ordained his Apostles priests, that they and their successors might in succession repeat this offering. Still there was to be but one Priest, the Apostles acting only for their Lord; and the appointed sacrifice was to represent the original one, both being real, but the one bloody, the other unbloody. They were to be considered as one and the same, differing only in the *mode* of offering, strictly propitiatory, capable of gaining remission of even great sins, and to be offered for the dead as well as the living. The doctrine was first established in the dark ages, yet like other errors it grew gradually, and might originate from the strong and unguarded language of the Fathers,

[h] Heb. vii. 27. [i] ix. 12. [k] ix. 28. [l] x. 11, 12. [m] ix. 26.
[n] 1 Pet. iii. 18. [o] Heb. x. 26.

who sometimes called it the unbloody sacrifice; yet in their most declamatory sentences, the careful reader will perceive that the expression was not to be taken literally, for the Christians were reproached by the heathen for belonging to a religion without a sacrifice, and the Fathers in their Apologies allowed that they had none. Thus Justin Martyr says[p], that "God has no need of material oblation, but that the Christian manner was to offer him prayers and thanksgivings." Tertullian[q] says, "that we may learn that we ought to offer spiritual not earthly services, from what is written; *the sacrifice of God is an humble and contrite spirit;*" and in another place, "*offer unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving:*" and when Celsus had objected to Christians their want of altars, Origen[r] replies, "the objector does not consider that with us every good man's mind is his altar, from whence truly and spiritually the incense of perfume is sent up, that is, prayers from a pure conscience." Waterland[s], who from his intimate study of the Fathers is of the highest authority as to their meaning, declares, that they will all be found constant and uniform in one tenor of doctrine, rejecting all material sensible sacrifices, and admitting none but spiritual ones, such as prayers and praises. The whole of the matter, as he says, has been well summed up in one of Sharp's Sermons[t]; "we offer up our alms, we offer up our prayers, our praises, and ourselves, and all these we offer up in the virtue and consideration of Christ's sacrifice, represented by way of commemoration; nor can it be proved that the ancients did more than this: this whole service was their Christian sacrifice, and this is ours." "We do not deny," says the Archbishop, "that the Communion Office may be called a sacrifice, nor do we scruple to call this service the Christian sacrifice by way of eminence, because we find the ancient Fathers frequently so styling it; but then it is only upon these three accounts; first, that we bring our offerings to God for the use of the poor, with which kind of sacrifice, St. Paul tells us, God is well pleased; which alms and oblations made up one great part of that unbloody sacrifice

[p] Apol. i. p. 14. [q] Adv. Jud. v. p. 18. [r] Contra Celsum, p. 755.
[s] Review of the Eucharist. [t] Vol. v. S. ii.

that the Fathers so often speak of: secondly, we offer up our prayers for ourselves, and our intercessions for the whole Church, our thanksgivings, and ourselves: and, thirdly, to complete the Christian sacrifice, we offer up both with a particular regard to that one sacrifice of Christ which he offered upon the cross, and which is now lively represented before our eyes in the symbols of bread and wine. What then, do we not offer every day? says Chrysostom. Yes, we offer by making a commemoration of his death, and we do not make another sacrifice every day, but always the same, or rather a remembrance of that sacrifice. And to the same purport says Eusebius[u], "we offer sacrifice by celebrating the memorial of the grand sacrifice." In these three things consisted the whole of the Christian sacrifice, as it was held by the primitive Church; and so we in our Communion Service, having offered up our sacrifice of alms, and our sacrifice of devotions for the rendering these two acceptable, plead before God the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Fathers, accustomed on the one side to the temple service, on the other to heathen sacrifice, were naturally led to adopt metaphorical language, which appears strong and forced to us, who know of both only from books. In this they follow the example of the Bible; for St. Peter[x] not only calls works of piety *spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ*, but he ascribes a holy priesthood to all Christians to offer these up; and upon this account St. John[y] calls them *priests;* St. Paul declares his willingness to be poured out as a drink-offering upon the sacrifice of his Philippian converts[z]; and calls upon the Romans *to present their bodies to God a living sacrifice, as a rational mode of worship.* So the *calves of the lips* of Hosea[a], which appears to us a harsh figure, is reproduced in the Epistle to the Hebrews[b], where Christians are required *to offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips;* and the metaphor is carried on to works of charity, with which sacrifices we are assured *that God is well pleased.*

[u] Demon. Evang. i. 10. [x] 1 Pet. ii. 15. [y] Rev. i. 6. [z] Philip. ii. 17.
[a] Hosea xiv. 2. [b] Heb. xii. 15.

The early Church offered oblations as well as alms; and though the former word was introduced at the revision into our Communion Service, it now refers to the devotions of the congregation, for the use of the Minister, whose claim upon their justice rather than charity is enforced in several of the sentences of the Offertory. The original oblation was the bread and wine provided for the occasion, out of which, after it had been solemnly presented to God as an acknowledgment that it was his gift, the Minister selected sufficient for his purpose, which he made by consecration, according to the language of the times, the body and blood of Christ. This was then distributed to the people, who were thus as it were entertained at God's table, as a reconciled Father, in the manner that the Israelites partook of the peace offerings. According to modern custom, this would be a mere ceremony: there was reality in it when the Lord's Supper was followed by a love-feast. A misconception of it seems to have introduced the notion of the sacrifice of the mass; and it was probably this abuse that occasioned the rejection of a prayer for a blessing on the elements, from King Edward's second book, which has been restored in the Scottish and the American Liturgies.

The Epistle to the Hebrews proves the sufficiency of Christ's one offering of himself once for all, and a sacrifice that needs repetition cannot be sufficient to take away sin. The doctrine here denounced depends upon Transubstantiation, for if that be disproved, the Eucharist can be no more than the commemoration of a sacrifice. The Roman Catholics endeavour to support their position from the Scripture; but the prediction in Malachi and the priesthood of Melchizedek, the most plausible passages they can find, may be shown to have no connection with the Mass. Jehovah, declaring that he had no pleasure in the mercenary services of his priests, directs the attention of Israel to a happier period, announcing that *from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering*[c]. Bellarmine maintains, that this is a prediction of the Mass,

[c] Malachi i. 11.

which his Church calls the unbloody sacrifice, and that it was so understood by all the Fathers; but he must have relied on the ignorance of his readers, for Tertullian[d] explains it of prayer out of a pure conscience; and Eusebius's comment is "not in Jerusalem, or in any particular place, but in every country and in all nations they shall offer the incense of prayers; and not by blood, but by pious works, offer unto God that which is called a pure offering[e]."

The prediction, as describing under the figures of the Law the worship of the Gospel dispensation, is easily understood; but if the literal meaning be pressed, it is incompatible with Transubstantiation; for, to use the language of the Bible[f], *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, so that no pure offering of flour can be a propitiatory oblation. The other passage is, Melchizedek's refreshing with bread and wine Abraham, after his victory over the allied kings. From the Psalm[f], and from the explanation of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we learn, that he was both priest and king, and was a type *of the great High Priest of our profession*, who filled no temporary office like Aaron, but *continues a Priest for ever*. There is no intimation that the bread and wine which he supplied was a sacrifice, or symbolical of one; and as the reasoning shows that Christ is a *Priest for ever*, he is now pleading at his Father's right hand the merit of his sacrifice, offered once for all upon the cross, and interceding for his people. There is now no victim to be offered; consequently, since every priest has something to offer, Christ has no successor in his office. Scripture is so explicit, that the Romanist is driven to evasion, to save the credit of his creed. Thus he says, that though Christ suffered only once upon the cross a bloody victim, he is offered without blood in the Mass. The Article not merely denies the sacrifice, but declares the doctrine to be blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits, figmenta et imposturæ. Deceits and fables that may well be called, which is contradicted by Scripture. Blasphemous, as professing to bring down Christ, whenever a priest pleases, from the right hand of God in heaven, and literally

[d] Against Marcion, iv. [e] Demon. i. 6. [f] Heb. ix. 22. [g] Psalm cx.

to feed upon him; an absurdity, which Cicero tells us[h] was too gross even for the Egyptians, who worshipped beasts, reptiles, and vegetables, and which depreciates the value of his own voluntary offering of himself; for if a second sacrifice be needful, it implies that something was wanting in the first. Pernicious, because such sacrifices tend to reduce religion to a form, a work wrought by the will of man; and to give a dispensation to sin to all who can purchase masses for themselves, either in this life or in the next; for the Council of Trent declares him accursed, who shall say that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or only a commemoration of the sacrifice performed on the cross, or that it is not propitiatory, or that it is only profitable to him who takes it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for all manner of sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities.

[h] De Naturâ Deorum.

LECTURE XIX.

ARTICLE XXXII.

OF THE MARRIAGE OF PRIESTS.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

Reason, unprejudiced and unperverted, must acknowledge, that marriage was the mode designed by our Creator of continuing our species; and what is prompted by instinct and approved by reason must be lawful. The Bible expressly declares it to be a divine institution, and that the parents of our race were for this very purpose created a male and a female, from which fact our Saviour decides in favour of the union of a single pair, and of its indissolubility, and against polygamy. Notwithstanding, there grew up early in eastern countries, from the same principle that recommends and makes a merit of every kind of abstinence and of self-denial for its own sake, and not as the means to an end, a notion, that single life was purer and more acceptable to God; and this maxim of a visionary philosophy soon found its way into the Church, being sanctioned by the example of several admired characters of both sexes, panegyrized by the leading divines of the age, and apparently deriving countenance from certain passages of Scripture. The Gnostics, we learn from Epiphanius, went so far as to forbid marriage

altogether, not for the sake of superior virtue, the ground taken by the Fathers and ascetic writers in every age, but as in itself abominable, though instituted by the Lord. Against that *mystery of iniquity*[a], already at work in his time, St. Paul's denunciation, of *forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats*[b], appears to have been levelled, especially as it is connected with the *doctrines concerning demons*. It may be fairly accommodated to the Church of Rome, but I conceive only accommodated, as that Church is so far from condemning matrimony in itself, that it has exalted it into a sacrament, forbidding it to none but the ministers of religion, and enjoins abstinence from certain articles of food only at stated seasons, which is very different from the positive and universal prohibition of the Gnostic heretics. The Manichæans forbade marriage to the elect, but tolerated it in the auditors. Tertullian, and Ambrose and other orthodox writers, magnified virginity, and celibacy, which, through their writings, and the excessive admiration of hermits and nuns, soon grew to be considered so meritorious in both sexes, and in all professions, that at last it was considered to be the indispensable duty of the clergy. An attempt was made to enforce it as early as at the Council of Nice, when it was proposed that married ministers should put away their wives; but this proposal was overruled by the piety, good sense, and liberality of Paphnutius, an unmarried Egyptian bishop. Jovinian, an Italian monk in the fourth century, spoke strongly in favour of a married clergy, and was strongly opposed by Jerome, and condemned by Pope Siricius. In the dark ages, public opinion grew more and more favourable to celibacy, and convents multiplied both for men and women. Still the secular clergy, in many instances, resisted and refused to put away their wives; but their opponents triumphed, in some countries earlier than in others, ultimately in all. Under our Saxon ancestors, Dunstan distinguished himself by his zeal in ejecting the married clergy from cathedrals and monasteries; Lanfranc, the Conqueror's Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned the marriage of

[a] 2 Thess. ii. 7. [b] 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

priests; and it was enforced by his successor Anselm. At the Reformation, the celibacy of the clergy was fully established throughout the Papal dominions, and the result was found to be so injurious to morality, that even a Pope, Pius II, who died in A.D. 1464, is remembered for having said marriage was for great reasons forbidden priests, and for greater is to be restored to them. Unnatural and unreasonable as the restriction now appears to us, much scandal was no doubt excited even among Protestants by this departure in their ministers from ancient usage. In our own country, Queen Elizabeth would not authorize the marriages of her clergy, which she only endured; and it was not till the reign of her successor, that an Act of Parliament made them legal. In her Injunctions, 1559, she orders, that no priest shall marry without the consent of his Bishop, two neighbouring justices, and the bride's parents. Their marriage afforded a specious colour to the assertion of Roman Catholics, that the Reformers were led to introduce innovations into the Church, from an impatience of the moral restraints to which they had been accustomed, and found a burden too heavy to bear. Cranmer, Hooper, and many more, acted in this respect upon their convictions, setting an example of marriage; and Luther himself, who had been a monk, wedded after deliberation a nun, confirming by his practice the doctrine he had previously maintained, that the vow of celibacy was not binding. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that an article justifying the marriage of the Clergy should appear in most of the Protestant Confessions of Faith, or that it should be condemned by the Council of Trent. Both the Helvetic and Augustan Confessions argue the question, and cite the principal texts in its favour; and the marriage of the clergy is warmly defended in the Reformatio Legum; but our own Article as usual only asserts it without attempting to prove. The Westminster Confession considers matrimony at length, but the clergy are not named. They are only comprehended under this general clause. "It is lawful for all sorts of people to marry, who are able with judgment to give their consent." "Bishops, Priests, and

Deacons are not commanded by God's law either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage." The concluding clause was added in 1562. Our only proposition is, the liberty of ministers to marry if they think it expedient, avoiding alike the extreme of the Roman Church which forbids it, and of the Greek which, from an erroneous interpretation of the Apostle's injunction, requires it as a qualification for Ordination, (though the same Church inconsistently takes its Bishops out of the monastic Order,) and representing neither matrimony nor celibacy as best in itself.

Marriage is allowed by all Christians of these days to be a divine institution, and is declared by the Apostle to the Hebrews *to be honourable in all*[c]. It is then for the advocates of the celibacy of the clergy to show, that they form an exception; and it is a remarkable presumption against them, that the Jewish office of priests was hereditary, and that it pleased the Almighty to make regulations respecting their marriages. When we consider, that the high priest of that dispensation was typical of our great High Priest, and that Aaron's descendants were entitled to the name, being ordained to offer sacrifice, whereas our clergy are only ministers who commemorate the all-sufficient sacrifice made once for all by Him who is the only Priest in the Christian Church, we cannot suppose a greater sanctity in them than in the ministers of the temple; and if marriage was compatible with the purity of the latter, nothing less than an express declaration can convince us that it is forbidden to the former. Peter, when chosen to be an Apostle, was married; and it appears that he continued to live with his wife when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians and claimed a right to marry, and to have his wife maintained by his converts, though he did not avail himself of it. Philip the Evangelist[d], and Aquila[e], were married, and are not blamed; and St. Paul's instructions to Timothy and Titus respecting Ordination shows that he did not disapprove of a married clergy. Our Lord declares, that some *cannot receive this*

[c] Heb. xiii. 4. [d] Acts xxi. 9. [e] Acts xviii. 2.

saying[f], therefore it can be no general command, and there is no reservation to ministers. The only portion of Scripture brought forward on the other side is the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the author appears to recommend celibacy as preferable to married life. But recommending is not commanding, and his very recommendation is with reference to a period of distress. He also allows in the same chapter, that some ought to marry, and he draws no distinction between laity and clergy.

If the clergy are not commanded to abstain from marriage, they cannot be commanded to vow a single life; and the making of vows, which it may not be in our power to keep, and for which we have no promise of divine assistance, is leading ourselves into temptation. It must then be unlawful to take them upon ourselves, or to impose them upon others.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

OF EXCOMMUNICATE PERSONS, HOW THEY ARE TO BE AVOIDED.

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as an heathen and publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

The Popes in the plenitude of their power exercised the right of excommunication in defiance of reason and equity, not only against offences not of a spiritual nature, but accompanying it with execrations and revolting circumstances, which clearly showed that their object was not the benefit of the offender, but their own aggrandisement, or the gratification of their own resentment. The penalties too inflicted were not merely spiritual, but such as dissolved the connections and obligations of civil society. They even

[f] Matt. xix. 12.

proceeded, as in the instance of the Emperor Henry IV. and our King John, to national interdicts, by which whole nations, who could not be pretended to be guilty, were put out of the pale of the Church, and deprived of sacraments and prayer, on account of the offences of their sovereigns. This outrage on sense and feeling was too violent to be long endured; and such a reaction took place, that now it is necessary to vindicate excommunication even under the most aggravated circumstances. The Council of Trent itself professes to have been taught by experience, that when rashly denounced and for light offences, it is rather despised than feared, and produces rather injury than benefit. In England it is rarely inflicted, and then by our spiritual Courts; and it has been long a reproach to our Church, that whatever may be said in praise of its discipline in theory, there is none in practice. This Article, the only one upon the subject, maintains the right of excommunication. There may and have been disputes concerning those who are to exercise the right, and in what cases it should be exercised, but the right itself cannot reasonably be called in question; for as in the State there is authority to banish and to inflict penalties, so in the Church or any other society there must be a power of punishing unworthy members, and of excluding the incorrigible. The distinction between a lesser and greater excommunication seems to suit the differences of offences, and to have prevailed at all times, the first being an exclusion from sacraments, the second the cutting off from all intercourse with the faithful, so that the first had chiefly in view the improvement of the offender, the second, the edification of the community. The word "until" shows that the excision is not *final*, unless the offender chooses; his continuance in an excommunicated state must be solely owing to his refusing to undergo the penance to which he is sentenced. Our Lord's direction[g], that when a brother trespasses against another, the injured party should tell him his fault alone, then before two or three witnesses, and finally to the church, that is, the assembly, and in case of the failure of the last appeal, to

[g] Matt. xviii. 15.

consider him as a heathen man or a publican, establishes upon divine authority the right of excommunication. We have two instances in which it was exercised by St. Paul; in the first, he orders the Corinthians[g] to deliver over to Satan an incestuous professor, that is, to cut him off from the church, and this was mainly designed for his own benefit. In the second, he informs Timothy[h] that he has delivered unto Satan Hymenæus and Alexander, that they might learn not to blaspheme. According to Burnet, this would be going too far except for a really infallible church, and he considers the delivery unto Satan as visibly an act of miraculous power, as the striking persons dead or blind; and that therefore the Apostles never reckon this among the standing functions of the Church, nor do they give any direction about it. The delivering unto Satan, however, became the common form of excommunication, and may be defended as meaning no more in the case of uninspired men than ejection, since all who are not under Christ's government, may be considered as the subjects of that evil spirit, who is described as the *god of this world.* The command to Titus[i], *a man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition reject,* shows that false doctrine is a sufficient reason for rejection; but then it must be false doctrine obstinately persevered in, and such as respect essential and clear truths. This separation we learn from St. John is to extend to domestic familiarity. *If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed*[k]*:* and St. Paul's instructions, arising out of the incestuous member of the Corinthian congregation, extended to all cases of gross immorality. *Put away from yourselves that wicked person: I have written unto you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat*[l]. The forgiveness and restoration of the same person[m] in the name and by the authority of Christ also proves the previous right of expulsion. We

[g] 1 Cor. v. 5. [h] 1 Tim. i. 20. [i] Titus iii. 10. [k] 2 John 10. 11.
[l] 1 Cor. v. 11. [m] 2 Cor. ii. 10.

shall however search in vain for texts to authorize any civil punishment for spiritual offences. The power of the sword is the prerogative of the magistrate, and has never been conferred upon the Church. Exclusion from its privileges and social intercourse with the brethren is the whole amount of punishment that can be inflicted by spiritual governors, and even these were enjoined for the benefit of the offender, as well as the edification of the rest. This is so manifest, that the most ferocious bigots that persecuted even unto death, never burned heretics in the name of the Church; having condemned them, they consigned them to the judgment of the civil power. The object of excommunication is not the indulgence of resentment, but the keeping the congregation pure, and the recovery of the condemned, who on his ascertained repentance, is to be restored. Having constantly in view the hope of his recovery, he is, as Paul enjoins the Thessalonians, *not to be counted as an enemy, but admonished as a brother*[n]. *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted*[o].

[n] 2 Thess. iii. 15.

[o] Gal. vi. 1.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHURCH.

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

This Article is entitled "Of the Traditions of the Church," but the traditions here considered are those not of doctrine, but of practice. It is maintained, that "they need not be," for in fact they never have been, "in all places one, or utterly like;" it is only required that "they be not ordained against God's word." We have already shown under the twentieth Article, that "the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies" with this limitation; and we have seen from the nature of the New Testament, that it was necessary that the Church should have this power, since we find there no details of the mode of conducting public worship. And if the Church has the power, it must be the duty of individuals to submit in all matters not contradicted by Scripture, for otherwise it would be impossible not only to preserve peace, but even to unite in prayer and participation of the Lord's

Supper. The eastern and western Churches have always differed in many observances, even while under the same Emperor; and this appears from two Epistles of Augustine to Januarius, in which he maintains the right of one diocese to differ from another in subordinate points: from the first of which we have already quoted a remarkable passage, showing that he acknowledged only two Sacraments. He maintains the rights of dioceses to differ from one another in subordinate points, as rites and ceremonies; and he gives as the best rule for a conscientious Christian, that he ought to follow the practice of the place in which he happens to be, for what is proved not to be against the faith or propriety, is to be held indifferent. "A traveller," he continues, "should observe the customs of the towns he visits, and not require those of his own country:" and he tells us, that his mother having consulted Ambrose, he answered, "Do as I do; when I am here I do not fast upon Saturdays, when at Rome I do; and so in whatever Church you are, keep to its customs." The strict uniformity of public prayer in the Church of England is unknown to continental Protestants or the Kirk of Scotland; in the latter, though they have a directory as a general guide, the ministers are allowed to put up petitions in their own words, and according to their own discretion. The Council of Trent has fixed the Roman formularies, but anciently there was more national liberty. Thus the Gallican Missal prevailed in France, till Charlemagne substituted for it the Roman; and the Milan diocese used that called after its celebrated Prelate the Ambrosian; and in our country there were several, of which the most extensively used was that of Salisbury. The Article further maintains, that every particular or national church hath authority to ordain and to change these ceremonies, with the reservation of the sacraments instituted by Christ; and certainly, whatever power the Church once possessed of legislating, she still retains; since no generation can have the right to enact irrevocable laws. General Councils have been thought by some to have had this power, but in fact they were not general in the proper sense of the word, for they were only those

of one empire, and when that empire ceased and was broken into independent states, the Churches of these states owed no allegiance to that of Rome, although the claim was made and allowed; but each Church has a right to act within itself as an entire and independent body.

The fourth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity is an interesting examination of the question of rites and ceremonies, and a vindication of the "moderate kind of reformation which the Church of England hath taken," in preference to the other more extreme and rigorous, which certain Churches elsewhere have better liked. I select from it the following remarks. Hooker inclines to the charitable speech of Augustine; "Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide soever it hath spread itself, be always one, although the unity of belief be famous for variety of certain ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed, suffereth no kind of impediment." Calvin goeth further: "As concerning rites, let the sentence of Augustine take place, which leaveth it free unto all churches to receive their own custom. Yea, sometimes it profiteth and is expedient that there be differences, lest men should think that religion is tied to outward ceremonies. Always provided that there be not any emulation, nor that churches delighted with novelty affect to have that which others have not. Seeing that the law of God doth not prescribe all particular ceremonies which the Church may use, and that it is not possible that the law of nature and of reason should direct all churches to the same thing; the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all, must needs be the judgment of some judicial authority. And because such authority is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man; there yet remaineth the verdict of the whole Church set down in some General Council. It is urged, that uniformity may be maintained, if where we have better ceremonies than others, they shall be bound to follow us; and we them, where their's are better? But who is to decide? "The east Church did think it better to keep Easter day after the manner of the Jews, the west Church better to do otherwise: the Greek Church judgeth it worse to use unleavened

bread in the Eucharist, the Latin leavened: one Church esteemeth it not so good to receive it sitting as standing, another Church not so good standing as sitting. There being on the one side probable motives as well as on the other, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said. They hold that the fewer should yield to "the elder and the more," and conclude, that "our Church should conform, as a younger sister, to the earlier churches of the Reformation." But this is an example which he shows we are not bound to follow; and he maintains the right of our national Church, "to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation from it[o]."

ARTICLE XXXV.

OF THE HOMILIES.

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

Of the Names of the Homilies.

1 Of the Right Use of the Church.
2 Against Peril of Idolatry.
3 Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.
4 Of Good Works: first of Fasting.
5 Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
6 Against Excess of Apparel.
7 Of Prayer.
8 Of the place and time of Prayer.
9 That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.
10 Of the reverend estimation of God's Word.
11 Of Alms-doing.
12 Of the Nativity of Christ.
13 Of the Passion of Christ.
14 Of the Resurrection of Christ.
15 Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.
16 Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.
17 For the Rogation-days.
18 Of the state of Matrimony.
19 Of Repentance.
20 Against Idleness.
21 Against Rebellion.

Preaching may be regarded as one of the fruits of the Reformation, for in the preceding ages it had been almost confined to Lent and the great festivals. It is still com-

[o] Preface to the revised Book of Common Prayer.

paratively rare in Roman Catholic countries, and Dissenters are accused of going too far into the opposite extreme, and of giving to it an undue proportion over the more essential part of divine service, the worship of God. We may easily conceive, that at the period of our Reformation, which originated, as far as doctrines were concerned, in the zeal of a few of the superior clergy, it was difficult, from the incapacity of many of the parochial ministers, and from the attachment of others to the old religion, to find persons competent to preach Gospel truth. It became therefore necessary to provide sermons for them to read to their congregations; and these in imitation of those of the Fathers are called Homilies, from a Greek word meaning a familiar discourse. We may infer from the Archbishop's Address to the Convocation of 1541, and the resolution of the Upper House in the following year, that there was in Henry's reign an intention, "to make Homilies for the stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people;" but the volume was not ready for distribution till after his son's accession. The publication was the cause of great rejoicing to the Protestants at Strasburg; and Bucer, then a minister there, addressed on the occasion a gratulatory epistle to the Church of England.

The second book of Homilies, the titles of which are here enumerated, appeared in 1560, early in the reign of Elizabeth, but had been in a great degree prepared before her brother's death, and is promised in his Injunctions. The Article orders them to be read in churches; and requires us to approve of them, as containing a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, that is, the times in which they were composed. In the present age, when we have a highly educated clergy, capable from their own resources of instructing and edifying the people, they are no longer so important, and though very valuable, especially the doctrinal ones, both intrinsically, and as showing the opinion upon contested points of our Reformers, they are now scarcely ever heard in the church. They are still found, however, to be very useful to the lower classes of society, to whom from their antiquated style resembling

that of the liturgy, and our version of the Scriptures, they are more intelligible than modern tracts, and are consequently more acceptable; and, through the exertions of the Prayer Book and Homily Society, they have obtained a considerable circulation. As the art of reading is now so common, and they are shorter than modern sermons, it seems better to recommend them to the laity for private perusal, than to ministers to supersede their own.

During the long religious apathy and ignorance into which the Church had fallen, they had sunk into comparative oblivion; but as piety and orthodoxy have revived, they are again studied, and, as they deserve to be, admired. No one who has read them, and believes in the leading doctrines of the Reformation, will be unwilling to sign this Article. Still, as fallible compositions, they have defects, and even mistakes; nor can a reasonable person suppose, that the approbation here required, pledges us to an entire and full assent to every proposition therein contained, as if it were an article of faith. The doctrine we must believe to be godly and wholesome, but occasionally the arguments brought forward may be insufficient, and some of the assertions erroneous. This Bishop Burnet allows: and yet he thinks, that as they so often charge the church of Rome with idolatry, no one who doth not believe the truth of that charge, can sign the Article with a good conscience. In this he appears to me overscrupulous, and certainly contradicts his previous observation, that the approbation is not to be stretched so far, as to carry in it a special assent to every particular. It is extraordinary, that the history of our Reformation is so imperfect, that the authorship of these Homilies can be only conjectured. We assign them with probability to Cranmer as the principal writer, and infer, that he had the assistance of Latimer and Ridley. The second Book is mainly attributed to the learned and able champion of Protestantism, the author of the Apology for the Church of England; but that on Adultery, is the composition of Becon, a popular divine of the day.

Since the compilation of these Lectures, my friend Dr. Cardwell has largely contributed to the illustration of the

early history of our reformed Church, by several valuable reprints of scarce documents. Among them is Taverner's Postils on the Epistles and Gospels, in the year 1540. He informs us in an interesting preface, that though not entitled to rank with the Homilies, with Fox's Acts and Monuments, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, or the Apology of Bishop Jewel, all of which, though in different degrees, are books of authority; it obtained from collateral circumstances a degree of sanction, deserving to be compared to a decree of Convocation, or a mandate of the Crown. The Exhortation upon the Passion of Christ, and the Sermon of the Resurrection, were adopted by Archbishop Parker without any alterations of importance, and have become our Homilies for Good Friday, and for Easter-day. A very remarkable Sermon against the authority of Rome, appointed for the first Sunday in Lent, was taken out of this book by that prelate, and is found among the papers bequeathed by him to his College. We may infer, adds Dr. Cardwell, that the Archbishop had detached it for the purpose of sending it to the press, but was afterwards diverted from his purpose. It is not improbable that he was prevented by the Queen, and that in place of that sermon, she directed him to supply the Homilies against Wilful Rebellion, two of which contain such invectives against the papal see as she was willing to allow. These were not published till 1571.

The Homilies I consider to have a peculiar value, as authorized Commentaries upon the Articles by those who formed and revised them, and who could not have been ignorant of their real meaning. To us of this distant age, they may be from their brevity sometimes obscure; and we must be aware of the tendency of preconceived opinions to distort the judgment, and to discover in a document which commands assent, a sense that was never intended. Cranmer puts this clue into our hands in summing up the short Article on Justification, with the hint, that "it is more largely expressed in the Homily." They also instruct the preacher rightly *to divide the word of truth*, and make the profound truths which unite in the accomplishment of man's salvation, promote the edification of the least educated of his congregation.

LECTURE XX.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATES.

The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

Subjection to the *higher powers as ordained by God*, and to subordinate ministers, though they were aliens from the

faith, is commanded by St. Paul[a]; and *the king*, (as the Roman Emperor was called in the provinces,) whom St. Peter[b] calls upon those to whom he wrote *to honour*, was a heathen. The New Testament is silent upon the mutual obligations of sovereigns and subjects, and we must learn them from the Old, or deduce our duty from general principles, regulated by Christian experience, *exercised to discern both good and evil*. It is well known, that the Church had increased and prospered under persecution, or at the best neglect, till, as Tertullian boasts in his Apology, Christians were in the camp, in the forum, and in the senate, and left the heathen only their temples. The Church, grown into an empire within an empire, was seated on the throne by Constantine, who while he endowed it with honours and privileges, presided in its first General Council; and succeeding Emperors, while they bestowed upon it liberal gifts, made laws which regulated ecclesiastical concerns. Warburton has adopted a Roman Catholic Archbishop's ingenious theory of an alliance between Church and State, in which each party is supposed to make concessions in return for advantages. It is plausible, but unsubstantial, since they are not rival powers contracting as he represents them a treaty; but the same individuals are reckoned to one or the other body, as we consider them in a civil or ecclesiastical point of view; and in a country in which there were no dissenters from the establishment, they would be identical. Scripture does not touch the subject. Independence of the State claiming no assistance, but relying on the voluntary principle, and tendering no allegiance, is quite a modern notion, and would have been rejected as a sinful disowning of the Deity in our corporate capacity, by the early puritans, and by Owen and all the eminent nonconformists. In our time the notion is no longer confined to Dissenters, but there are even Churchmen who regret that their own form of faith has been established, and believe that it is cramped in its exertions by the fetters, not of a lay tyranny, but of a constitutional supremacy, which till now, with the exception of Papists, and of extinct fanatics, as the

[a] Rom. xiii. 1. [b] 1 Peter ii. 17.

original Anabaptists and the family of love, has been regarded as the safeguard of religion and the duty of a Christian governor. We at least, who are by law secured in the enjoyment of a scriptural liturgy, and of a form of sound words delivered down to us in these Articles of Faith, have no reason to sigh for the imaginary blessing of a nominal independence, which would probably soon degenerate into the government of an ecclesiastical oligarchy, while the State's resumption of the emoluments and honours which it bestowed, would banish our bishops from the great council of the nation, would force the poor, who have now the Gospel preached to them gratuitously, to contribute to the support of their Ministers, and thinly peopled rural districts, instead of benefiting by the services of a Rector or Curate, would depend, as before the formation of parishes, on the occasional preaching of an itinerating Missionary. This would be indeed deserting the vantage ground inherited from the piety of remote ages, and discarding privileges which early believers would have rejoiced in possessing. In embracing Christianity, we devote ourselves, and faculties, and means, to Him, *whose we are and whom we serve;* and the same obligations bind the sovereign and the citizen. So Christians have thought and acted in every country from the time of Constantine; and so reasonable is the thought, that the Missionaries of the London Society who repudiated connection with the State at home, when it pleased God that they should convert the isles of the Pacific, forgetting their voluntary principle, gladly availed themselves of the fostering patronage of the king of Tahiti. If we could realize our beautiful prayer, and "be all of one heart and one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity," the idea of separation would never occur; and we should labour, not only as individuals, but in our public capacity, by directing the national resources into this channel, through the endowment of schools and churches, and the other suggestions of an enlightened philanthropy, to strengthen and to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. Happily the idea is likely to be restricted to a Christian Atalantis or Utopia, for which imaginary state it is fitter than for this imperfect world. The recent disruption of the Church of

Scotland proves, that though an establishment may be injured by a large secession of pious and influential preachers, successors can be found to occupy the manses, and competently to minister in the churches which they have from mistaken principle abandoned. I say mistaken, for they were not called upon to surrender an iota of the truth; and surely patronage belongs not of right to a spiritual kingdom, which has neither *gold nor silver*, and *is not out of this world.*

There are "slanderous folks" now, as well as in the reign of Elizabeth, who are offended by the Supremacy which this Article assigns to her Majesty; but our Reformers were too wise and pious to ascribe to their lay Sovereign the office of his Vicar, which they had refused to the Pope. The original article stated, that the King of England is supreme head in earth, next under Christ; and as the title was disliked, especially in a female reign, the present reservation of chief power to him was substituted. The explanatory clause declares, that by this expression we give not any spiritual office to the Sovereign, and refers to the Injunctions lately set forth, which state, that her Majesty doth not challenge any other authority than was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born with these her realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so that no foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them; and they go on to say, that this is the whole of the supremacy required; and the Article states, that the only prerogative conferred is such as has been always given to all godly princes in holy Scripture by God himself.

Such a supremacy I cannot see how any reasonable person can deny, who allows of any connection between Church and State; and will not maintain, that the former is to govern the latter. Even an enlightened Roman Catholic would grant that the papal power is only spiritual, and that the temporalities of prelates, that is, their honours and estates, are derived from the civil power. From the time of the Conqueror till the Reformation, there was a perpetual conflict between the See of Rome and our ancient

Kings; and law as well as reason was on the side of the latter, and many statutes were enacted declaratory of the national rights. The Popes, when in the height of power, went so far as to claim the decision even of capital offences, in which the clergy were concerned; but no exemption from civil jurisdiction is even hinted in the New Testament; obedience to the civil powers is enjoined to all, and the clergy are also subjects as well as ministers, bound therefore *for conscience sake* to submit to the Sovereign, and those in authority under him in temporal concerns. Even General Councils we have seen were convened by the Roman Emperors; and we find, as intimated in the Article, that in the Jewish Theocracy, though the temple services were of divine institution, the kings, not only David and Solomon, who might be presumed to have had a special commission from God, but Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Josiah, gave directions and orders respecting religion.

The Article proceeds to say, "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England." Our Saviour solemnly declared, that his kingdom *was not of this world*, and no passage can be shown that conferred upon his Apostles any but spiritual power. The jurisdiction consequently of a Bishop must be of that kind, and the exercise of it must be limited to his own diocese, which alone is committed to his charge. The only way therefore in which the Bishop of Rome, the once capital of the world, can claim any authority over our prelates, must be as the Vicar of God, or, as he calls himself, Universal Bishop; and this arrogant demand has been fully and elaborately disproved. In a brief exposition like the present, it is enough to refer to the New Testament to show, that Peter himself never claimed or received any greater authority than the other Apostles; and that they were not conferred by the celebrated text, *upon this rock I will build my Church*[p], even if we allow the rock to be the person instead of the confession of Peter, is plain, from the fact that the twelve disputed to the last which among them should be the greatest. The Council at Jerusalem, and several passages in

[p] Matt. xvi. 18.

the book of Acts, equally confute any conclusion that might be drawn from the charge to him after the Resurrection, *Feed my sheep*, which seems to be only confirming him in the office which his desertion might appear to have vacated. St. Paul withstood Peter to the face, and claims to be not a whit behind the very chiefest of the Apostles[q]. Cyprian[r] addresses the Bishop of Rome as a colleague and a brother, and says, that all apostles and bishops were equal; and the first General Council declares that the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch have according to custom the same authority over the churches subordinate to them, as that of Rome had over those in the capital of the empire. This power only claims to rest upon custom, and is considered as liable to the decision of a General Council. It is remarkable that Pope Gregory, under whose Pontificate, and through whose zeal in sending Augustine to England, our Saxon ancestors were converted, was so far from claiming spiritual preeminence, that he declared, that he who assumed (as the Patriarch of Constantinople had done) the title of Universal Bishop, was the forerunner of Antichrist; and as he renounced all right to it himself, so he affirmed that none of his predecessors had ever aspired to such supremacy. Whatever power the See of Rome possessed as a Patriarchate, was only a regulation of the Roman Empire, and when that empire was broken into independent states, these states were no more bound by its ecclesiastical than its civil constitution, though from the force of habit, while there was a German Emperor beyond the Alps, the Bishop of Rome continued to be head of the western Church.

Having determined the authority of the Sovereign as supreme in all causes and over all persons ecclesiastical as well as civil, our Church here, in opposition to the scruples of others, maintains the lawfulness of capital punishments and of war; and in the two last Articles, of property and of oaths. A tender conscience which hesitates to conform to general usage, has been often influenced by a desire of attaining to perfection, and this desire may spring from a mild and gentle, or from a harsh austere temper, the former

[q] 2 Cor. xi. 5. [r] Ep. lxxxi.

intent upon the good that may result from a change, the latter dwelling more upon the selfishness and other faults that obstruct it. It must be owned, that capital punishments, war, and oaths, indicate the imperfection of our social system. If we were all as we ought to be, and if we had among us no "stubborn" persons nor "evil-doers," civil government itself might cease, and certainly wars and capital punishments; and if we could always rely on the veracity of men, oaths would not be required. In our actual condition, they may be plausibly represented as evils by those who forget, or purposely keep out of sight, that they prevent greater. Every scruple proceeds from some misconception of Scripture, and generally from too literal an interpretation. The Sermon on the Mount is cited, as prohibiting all resistance to evil by states as well as by individuals, and even legal oaths. The same scruples are not common to all; some, like the Friends, who object to war and oaths, allow of private property; but in all over-scrupulous persons the conscience is in an unhealthy state; and we can only pray with the Apostle, that *their love may abound more in all judgment*, that they *may approve things that* differ, and study to have their *senses exercised to discern both good and evil*[s].

Thou shalt not kill, is one of the prohibitions of the Decalogue; and putting to death a being formed in the image of God, and sending him to his final account, is so aweful an act, that it is not surprising that some should have called in question the right of society to command what all allow would be deeply criminal in a private individual. The right, however, to exact *blood for blood*, that is, to put the murderer to death, is almost universally conceded; and seems to be expressly granted by God to Noah after the flood, together with permission to eat animal food. At the *hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man*[t]. It is observable, writes Scott in his Commentary, that the reason given for this punishment is the affront to God, not the injury to man. Several are of opinion, that ex-

[s] Phil. i. 9, 10. Heb. iv. 14. [t] Gen. ix. 5, 6.

ecution for any other offence is forbidden; yet no believer in the divine authority of the Mosaic code, which condemns to death other criminals beside murderers, can suppose that capital punishments are incompatible with the essential principles of justice and mercy. This precedent seems a full justification of such punishments under the Gospel, though the legislature that has imbibed the genuine spirit of Christianity, will be tender of human life, and will have recourse to severe laws only when milder have failed. St. Paul admits, that the civil magistrate hath the power of life and death, by saying, that *he beareth not in vain the sword*, clearly the sword of justice, and describes him as *the minister of God* for this very purpose, *a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil*[u]. He also in his defence before Felix allows, that there were offences worthy of death[x]. Nor does Christian charity interfere with the penalty; for though an individual may forgive the greatest offence as far as he is personally concerned, the sin against him is also an offence against society, which he cannot remit.

The precepts in the Sermon on the Mount which forbid us to resist evil, are generally taken to mean, not that we are bound to fulfil them literally in each particular instance, but to cultivate a peaceful and forgiving disposition. They are directions to us as individuals, and not as members of society; and whatever arguments will justify the Magistrate in protecting the lives and properties of citizens, from the ill-disposed among their fellow-subjects, will hold good against foreign invaders. Defensive war seems as lawful as the infliction of capital punishment; and if we are once engaged in defensive war, it will scarcely be possible to avoid offensive measures. But those who commence a war incur a deep responsibility; and no moralist will consider one, that can be safely and honourably avoided, to be just or innocent. The early Christians we know served in the armies of pagan emperors without any misgiving of conscience; and Augustine[y], arguing against the Manichæan Faustus, calls soldiers not homicides, but ministers of the law, defenders of the public safety. The Psalmist[z] blesses God for teaching his hands to war, and his fingers to fight.

[u] Rom. xiii. 4. [x] Acts xxv. 11. [y] xxii. lxxiv. [z] Ps. cxliv.

John the Baptist, in requiring the soldiers who came to his baptism to be content with their wages, permits them to retain their profession; nor is Cornelius required by St. Peter to retire from the army.

We think that the sword which the Magistrate *beareth not in vain*, may be conscientiously unsheathed to protect national interests as well as private property; to insure national safety as well as individual security; and as much of national safety rests on character, it may be, to vindicate national honour. And as nations find it convenient, and an economy of bloodshed, to carry on war by the agency of a separate class, there appears to be no well-founded objection to the profession of arms. The right of warfare is clearly deducible from the inherent right of defence, which every individual brings with him into the world, which is expanded and generalized when men form societies, and which is methodised and applied according to the convenience and judgment of the social union; but this excepted indulgence in favour of defence failing, the original prohibition, *Thou shalt not kill*, returns in full force.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

OF CHRISTIAN MEN'S GOODS, WHICH ARE NOT COMMON.

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

This Article opposes the error of Anabaptists, who contended for a community of goods; and were strongly opposed by Luther and the other continental Reformers. It was thought proper, as Christians are accountable for the use of riches to God, though not to society, to add, that "every man ought of such things as he possesseth liberally

to give alms to the poor, according to his ability." It might have had the appearance of harshness and selfishness to insist upon the right of property, without at the same time referring in any degree to the proper use of it; and it was desirable to remind the rich of what they are too apt to forget, that though in duties of imperfect obligation, as they are called, they are not accountable to man, they are the trustees of God. It answers also the purpose of proving the first part of the Article, for the exhortations to almsgiving to all men, especially to the household of faith, with which the New Testament abounds, presuppose the existence and lawfulness of private property. Arguments against the abuse of any thing imply that there is a proper use of it; while our Saviour in the strongest language declares the danger of riches, he does not prohibit the possession of them; and St. Paul's advice to rich men is not to renounce them, but to guard against the temptations that beset their owners[a]; *not to be high-minded, nor to trust in them,* but to do good with them, and to be *rich in good works.* Giving and lending, and all the distinctions of society which the Gospel acknowledges, imply property. St. James[b] presupposes traffic; Paul[c] in the Ephesians forbids stealing, and as a motive to industry, urges that it will furnish property out of which a man can give; and his remark, that *if any man provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel*[d], shows, that there are claims upon property of justice as well as of benevolence, and of course prove the possession of it to be permitted. Under the present constitution of society consisting of masters and servants, of the governed and of governors, which the Bible recognises by pointing out their respective duties, and declaring *the powers that be are ordained of God,* property must unavoidably exist; and as it has been often justly observed, if at any given period it was equalized, the difference of ability, of prudence, and of character in men, and in the circumstances of their lives, would be continually reproducing inequality. It is true that the abolition of property

[a] 1 Tim. vi. 17. [b] James iv. 3. [c] Eph. iv. 28. [d] 1 Tim. v. 8.

would do away with some temptations, but it would introduce other evils; it would remove the great inducement to industry, and prevent the virtues both of the rich and the poor from developing themselves. The God of grace is also the God of Providence; it cannot therefore be supposed that his word can be in opposition to the arrangements of human nature and of society. The only passage that can be urged is the state of the Primitive Church, when *all that believed were together, and had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need*[e]. Yet this very history shows, that this sacrifice of property was voluntary, and was not required by the Apostles; for Peter interrogating Ananias, says, *whiles it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold was it not in thine own power*[f]*?* It was probably only temporary in that congregation, and we know did not prevail in others, whose example would be of equal authority. Thus the disciples at Antioch, *every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren in Judæa*[g]*;* and St. Paul's instruction to the Galatians and Corinthians, that upon the first day of the week *every one should lay by him in store as God hath prospered him*[h], is a sufficient proof that he did not consider the conduct in this respect of the believers of Jerusalem as a model of imitation to the churches of his own planting. A few fanatics alone have maintained the unlawfulness of property; many persons however in the Roman Church have considered the renunciation of it as a council of perfection; and hence the vow of voluntary poverty, which is deemed, though not a necessary duty, meritorious. It is said that the celebrated St. Francis was so struck by our Lord's advice to the young man to sell all that he had, that he literally acted upon it; yet we have no reason to think that it was meant for more than a touchstone of sincerity. Peter, though he followed our Lord, had still a house[i]; and the right which St. Paul claims[k] of a maintenance for the clergy shows, that he did not consider poverty as a duty in them.

[e] Acts ii. 44, 45. [f] Acts v. 4. [g] Acts xi. 29. [h] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.
[i] Matt. viii. 14. [k] 1 Tim. v. 18.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

OF A CHRISTIAN MAN'S OATH.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle, so we judge, that Christian religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

Solemn oaths taken in obedience to authority are here declared to be not forbidden by the Gospel, but they must be taken, as the Prophet teaches us, *in justice, judgment, and charity*. This is a reference to the fourth chapter of Jeremiah, which is thought to relate to the age of the Messiah. *And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.* The text is also a justification of the practice, as well as a guide to the manner, of taking an oath; and, as Scott upon the place observes, the constant mention of swearing as an act, and a part of true religious worship, which in some places is expressly commanded, constitutes a full proof, that they who understand certain passages in the New Testament, as indiscriminately prohibiting all oaths, lie under a mistake, for God could never have commanded that which is essentially evil. An oath is a solemn appeal to Him: it implies in its very nature then a belief in his knowledge, his power, and providence, and is an act of religion. The writer to the Hebrews calls it *an end of all strife*[1], and its utility is so great, that under some form or other it has been employed in the administration of justice in every country. We find it customary with the Patriarchs[m], and it is frequently commanded in the Law. The accused, when called upon by

[1] Heb. vi. 16.

[m] Gen. xxiv. 3.

the competent authority, was required to answer, under the penalty of perjury[n]; and our Lord himself when adjured by the high priest, though he had continued silent till then, acknowledged the obligation of his oath, by declaring that he was, what he was said to be, *the Son of God*[o]. The reason of the thing, and our Lord's example, will justify the practice, and silence every Christian objector, unless it can be shown that he swore as under the Mosaic law, but had forbidden the custom to Christians. So improbable a supposition ought to rest upon some plain and decisive text, especially when we find continual appeals for his sincerity to God, that is, in fact, oaths, in the writings of his inspired disciple Paul. *As God is true, our word towards you was not yea or nay*[p]. *I call God for a record upon my soul*[q]. There are two passages in the New Testament, the Sermon on the Mount, and one in the Epistle of St. James, who evidently had that discourse in view, that have satisfied Friends, like the early Baptists, of the unlawfulness of oaths. Of this, as of many such interpretations, we may venture to say, that it errs from too rigid attention to the letter, and the neglect of the context. Both are noticed in our Article, but explained of vain and rash swearing, which few will deny is their purport. *Let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay*, shows that our Lord speaks of ordinary conversation; they evidently are also voluntary oaths, whereas judicial ones are compulsory. The object of the Sermon on the Mount is to correct the false glosses of the Pharisees. They taught, that men should not forswear themselves, but perform their oaths to the Lord. Our Saviour's command is, *swear not at all;* and the real meaning probably is, the prohibition of vows. The candid and attentive reader must at once perceive, that these passages do not condemn oaths in a court of justice. The reverence for the Deity, which leads us to swear by his name in a cause of faith or charity, will prevent our appeal to him on trifling occasions, lest we should fall into the condemnation of those who *take his name in vain.*

[n] Levit. v. 1. [o] Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. [p] 2 Cor. i. 18. [q] 2 Cor. i. 23.

This Exposition, which opened with affirming the existence of the Triune Jehovah, after asserting the Protestant principle, that the Bible is the sole rule of faith, proceeded to state the scheme of man's salvation, and has closed with a review of his relation to Church and State. My Lectures are finished; but I cannot dismiss you without adverting to that gracious Providence, which has by extraordinary means perfected our Reformation. Both the men, and the age in which they accomplished their noble undertaking, call for a grateful acknowledgment. The men who were to restore the fabric which Cranmer had raised, but was then in ruins, had been trained in the school of adversity in foreign lands, and especially in Zurich, where they found a wise counsellor in Bullinger; and they laboured to render this Confession as comprehensive as was compatible with what they esteemed essential truth. Coming after the German Reformers, they borrowed largely from their professions of faith, and have provided us with a fuller and more systematic statement of dogmatic Theology. How contracted was the sovereignty of Elizabeth, reigning only over the southern division of our island, compared with that of the vast colonial empire of Victoria, stretching from the western shore of America to China, upon which it has been said without a figure, that the sun never sets! Her London could bear no comparison in population or wealth with our Manchester or Liverpool; and the intelligence and knowledge which now pervade the community, were then confined to a limited higher circle. Our Articles were accepted seemingly without a discussion by a submissive Synod; while the laity apparently deemed divinity without their province; and had Parliament shown a disposition to give an opinion, its voice would probably have been silenced by the Queen. Now all denominations enjoy not only toleration, but liberty; laity as well as clergy think themselves competent to determine religious controversies; and though I believe that piety and orthodoxy are more influential than they have ever been before, there is also a manifest tendency towards Romanism on the one hand, and on the other to latitudinarianism and scepticism, if not to a

refined and subtle infidelity under the disguise of rational Christianity. If then the delicate task of drawing up Articles of Faith had been left for such an age, it could hardly have been accomplished in so satisfactory a manner.

In conclusion, let me warn you against an exclusive study of these Articles, or of any brief compendiums of tenets, or even of more elaborate bodies of divinity. These synthetical arrangements are most valuable, as the condensed result of the reading of men who have deeply studied the volume in which, as in a mine, all we can know of God or of the salvation of man is deposited. They are aids to memory; but they ought not to supersede our own investigation. They instruct, but they cannot edify. From their very nature they must be dry, and are to some repulsive. They are to the Bible what skeletons or exhibitions of the nervous or vascular system stripped of the clothing of flesh and skin are to the living body animated by a soul. The word, like the world, of the same wise as well as allmighty Author, appears at first view from its variety a maze without a plan; and the uninstructed enquirer, in commencing his study of it, feels like the naturalist, who would rather acquaint himself with plants as grouped in a botanic garden, or with minerals arranged in a cabinet according to some useful though imperfect system, than as found in their localities in apparent confusion. But with these Articles as a guide, we shall discover in seeming disorder a concealed design in the Bible, to bring before the mind in sundry ways revealed truth; and by this repetition, while it satisfies the intellect, to impress it upon the heart. The Homilies direct us in this course, by beginning with "A fruitful Exhortation to the reading of holy Scripture," followed by discourses "on the misery and on the salvation of all mankind," and "of the true and lively faith," which worketh by love. Under such guidance, and with prayer that the Lord would open his eyes to see the *wondrous* things of his law, the student will discover in the word a *lantern unto his feet and a lamp unto his path.* He will find that *he has more understanding than his teachers,* and God's testimonies being his study, they will become the *very joy of his heart, sweeter*

than honey, and *dearer to him than thousands of gold and silver*.

It is the glory of our Church, that while she adheres to the decrees of the first four General Councils, and retains the three ancient Creeds, she accepts them, not upon the authority of fallible divines, but because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture." That Scripture is undervalued by the enthusiast, who seeks for illumination within himself, and by the superstitious, who distrusts it, and while he allows it to be inspired, thinks it needs to be guarded from abuse, by human interpretation. By the infidel it is rejected with scorn; and the increasing attachment to this best gift of God, which has strengthened with reviving piety, and not content with selfish enjoyment, has given it an unprecedented circulation in almost every land and tongue, has provoked the spleen of such as look to human speculations for the amelioration of mankind, and ridicule the love of the Bible under the title of Bibliolatry. Ridicule however will strive in vain to laugh the believer out of his attachment to this charter of his salvation, the very titles of which show that it is the work which, above all others, deserves his study. The constant enjoyment of any blessing, is too apt to make us forget its value; we can only recover our due appreciation of it, by endeavouring to imagine what would be our condition without it. The wisest of the heathen, who had no other intellectual guide than traditionary knowledge or their reason,

> "Were ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
> "And how the world began, and how man fell:
> "Much of the soul they talked, but all awry."

In this volume, a child now reads the truths which philosophy sought in vain, and truths which will sustain him in the trials of life, and qualify him for heaven. The doctrine which it has preserved, and communicates from age to age, teaches a higher morality than the schools of Greece, and has placed it on a firmer basis. To it we owe a genuine civilization, extending wherever its spirit penetrates, which has gradually extinguished slavery, abo-

lished the civil and political evils which the heathens approved, or at the best endured; and has introduced schools and hospitals, and all the plans for the removal of ignorance and vice and misery, and for the happiness and the improvement of man, which Christian philanthropy can suggest. Happy it is that the life-giving truths of our most holy Faith were not entrusted to Tradition, which lost or disfigured them. Embodied in a volume of moderate size, they are recoverable: and those who have drunk deep of this well of life, have not only quenched their own spiritual thirst, but have opened streams for the healing of the nations. Our admiration might be justly deemed extravagant, if the written word were no more than the history of an ancient people, a code of laws, or even a system of morality. But it supplies the Christian with his only offensive weapon, the *sword of the Spirit*, with which to fight the battles of the Lord, and that weapon is *sharper than any two-edged sword*, and a *discerner of the intents and thoughts of the heart*. It needs no other commendation than the Apostle's description of it, as *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*[r], always remembering that it derives its efficacy from *the faith which is in Christ Jesus*. That faith, whenever and by whatever means it has been implanted in the heart, feeds upon this written word, which reveals in all his grandeur and loveliness the eternal divine and ever-living Word, who gives to all who believe in him *a right* to the appellation of *sons of God*. The Holy Spirit whom he hath sent, *takes of his, and shows it* to all whom the Father has given to him; and *the eyes of their understanding* are by his teaching *enlightened* to understand in some degree the love of Christ, and that *love constrains* them to live to him who died for them. May the author and the reader of these Lectures be led to dwell more and more on the *manifold wisdom* of God, in his scheme of reconciliation revealed in Scripture, and discover in this mine more and more of the *unsearchable riches of Christ*, till we perceive him to be as he is, *fairer than the children of men, altogether lovely, and full of grace and truth!* All minor truths will then

[r] 2 Tim. iv. 15, 16.

sink into due subordination to the great fact, that God *has set forth his beloved Son as a propitiation through faith in his blood*, and the reader will learn how the Father can be not only merciful, but *just, in justifying him who believeth in Jesus*. May these Lectures facilitate to their readers an intelligent perusal of the Scriptures, which exhibit in all his offices Him whom to know is everlasting life; and may they with *unveiled face*, beholding reflected in that mirror the glory of the Lord beaming on their souls with transforming efficacy, be gradually changed into their Saviour's image of righteousness and holiness, growing more and more like him in disposition and affections, till, made *meet for the inheritance of the saints in light*, they *see* that nearest kinsman, the Lord of Hosts, Jehovah, Jesus, *as he is, and be like him!*

THE END.

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